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ON THE

ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE

OF THE

ANCIENT MEXICANS.

By AD. F. BANDELIER.

Not only the history of Ancient Mexico, but the true condition and degree of culture of its aboriginal inhabitants, are yet but imperfectly known. Nearly all architectural remains have disappeared; the descendants of the former aborigines have modified their plan of life, and we are almost exclusively reduced, for our knowledge of Mexican antiquities, to the printed and written testimony of those who saw Indian society at Mexico either at the time of, or not too long after, its downfall. But these authors, whether eye-witnesses of the conquest, like Cortés, Bernal Diez del Castillo, Andres de Tapia, and others; or missionaries sent to New Spain at an early date,—as Toribio of Benavent (Motolinia), Sahagun or (towards the close of the 16th, or beginning of the 17th century) Acosta, Davila, Mendieta, and Torquemada,—they are sometimes, on many questions, in direct opposition to each other. Thus the uncertainty is still increased, and the most difficult critical labor heaped upon the student. Furthermore, to magnify the task, we are placed in presence of several Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries (like Duran, Tezozomoc, and Ixtlilxochitl), who disagree with each other on the most important questions, quite as much as the Spanish authors themselves.

It may appear presumptuous, while knowing of the existence of such difficulties, to attempt the description of even a single feature of life of Mexico's former Indian Society. Still, while engaged upon translating the Mexican chronicle of Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc into the English language, I was so struck by the picture which, unintentionally perhaps, that author exhibits of the condition and organization of the Mexican tribe, that I could not refrain from investigating more closely several features

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114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

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[1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitli* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar, Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1615), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

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[3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Tecoluacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 6.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "His"torie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzales de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hackluyt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

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might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have uttered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and "my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my "chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in "all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my "duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for "many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently* given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I "shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and "I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 459). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 187 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenochtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 143. "Y luego se hicieron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubierta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia descompuesta de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de las Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 448. " . . . . . y dividiendose una parte y otra, por toda aquella espesura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, comencçaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.")

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 469, 491 and 492, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also.

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like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of importance, and worthy of serious attention.

Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico." contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 436, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1858, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon ponianle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender á si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tratado I, cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

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We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the *strength* and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

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stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia).

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIIIa, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants "du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*.

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 men *remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. VI, p. 544, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 82), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

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701 (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain
[648] was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were main-
701 tained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief.
[643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 560.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 354) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopocheo, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia
[651] says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

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When fifteen years old, the youth was placed in charge of certain chiefs[19] (the "telpuchtlato" or "achcacautin") who kept them under their oversight until they married. They were educated in communities "for the service of the tribe and for warlike purposes;"[20] were allowed, even at the age of fifteen, to go to war either armed or as carriers only,[21] and had their respective "school houses" ("telpuchcalco," houses of the youth); one in each of the four quarters of Mexico which formed the basis of the tribe's military organization, as we shall hereafter see. At these houses they were gradually trained to the handling of weapons.[22]

There were no regular times set for military practice. But every twenty days, at least, there occurred a religious festival, at which the warriors appeared in full costume, and, their chiefs included, they "skirmished," showing and practicing their skill in handling arms.[23] The youth were not only invited to such occa-

[19] Idem: "A quinze ans, le père présente deux fils à deux différents maitres du temple et du *collège militaire*, ..." The boy (Mexican "piltontli") then became a youth ("telpuchtli"—Alonzo de Molina. "Vocabulario en lengua Mexicana y castellana." Mexico, 1571. Parte IIa, p. 97).

[20] Bernardino de Sahagun ("Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España," in vol. VII, of Lord Kingsborough, lib. III. Appendix, cap. IV, p. 118. "Y asi ofrecian "la criatura, á la casa de telpuchcalli; era su intencion que alli se criase con los otros "mancebos para servicio del pueblo y cosas de guerra." Also cap. V, 119). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124. "Los otros se criaban como en capitanias, porque en cada "barrio habia un capitan de ellos, llamado telpuchtlato, que quiere decir "guarda ó "capitan de los mancebos. . . . . Tambien tenian por si su comunidad, sus casas "y tierras, etc., etc.") Telpuchtlato signifies "Speaker to the youth" (from "Telpuchtli," youth, and "tlatoani," speaker. Molina, II, p. 141). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXVII, p. 444. Para este efecto avia en los templos casa "particular de niños, como escuela, o pupilaje distincto del de los moços y moças del "templo"). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 131 and LXXVIII, p. 134). "Telpuchcalli" is derived from "telpuchtli," youth, and "calli," house. The "achcauhtli," to which we shall refer hereafter, are variously designated, even as priests (by Mendieta), as "cap-"tains of the guard" (by Torquemada), as "an officer, to whom they (the youth) were entrusted" (by Clavigero).

[21] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 124). "Some of these youth, the strongest ones, "went to war, and the others, also, went to see how the force practiced at arms." Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 131) "and all the youth examined, such as had not gone, went "along, carrying arms and supplies, and to become encouraged by the feats they might "witness."

[22] Mexico divided into four "calpulli" ("barrios"), each of which had its "telpuchcalli,"—"where the achcacauhtin showed and taught them the use of arms and how "to combat valorously." (Tezozomoc, cap. LXXI and LXXVIII, p. 134.)

[23] For the long list of religious festivals of the Mexicans, ordinary as well as extraordinary, we beg to refer to almost any one of the authors of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on Mexico. As to the military displays and exercises during the feast, I refer particularly to Antonio de Herrera ("Historia general de los Hechos de los Castel-"lanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano." Edition of 1730. Decada II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). "Nobody was allowed to carry arms about the city, but only "to war, to the chase, or when on guard to the King. On days of festivities, and at

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sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 256, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 252. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 250 and 260). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

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public storehouses connected with the temples of each tribal subdivision.[28]

The name given to these public store-houses was "houses of darts" (tlacochcalco).[29] They were, probably, not limited to the immediate vicinity of the chief temple, but each subdivision of the pueblo had its "house of darts" as well as its central "teocalli."[30] The following description of an aboriginal Mexican "pueblo," furnished by a missionary who arrived in New-Spain as early as

[28] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXI, p. 151. Immediately preceding the foray against Xoconochco, "each day the youth went to the quarters, to practise at the school of arms, "telpuchcalco . . . . " *Idem*, cap. LXXVIII, p. 134). The *Anonymous Conqueror*, whose relation is contained in vol. I of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Col. de Documentos," both in the original Italian taken from Ramusio ("Relatione di alcune cose della Nuova "Spagna, & Della Gran Citta di Temestitan Messico, fatta per uno Gentil' homo del "Signor Fernando Cortese"), and in the Spanish translation by the distinguished Mexican scholar, says (p. 394, "Dei tempii, é Meschite che havevano"): "Before they left "(for war), they all went to the principal *mosque* ("meschita maggiore"—main teocalli) "and provided themselves with the arms stored over the main entrances" (of the square around the temple). We have few positive indications as to the true situation of the store-houses, beyond that they were probably connected with the "school, houses" ("telpuchcalco"), and therefore with the temples. Torquemada, who gives an elaborate description of the chief temple of Mexico (Lib. VIII, of 2d volume), says (Cap. XI, p. 146): "and at each one of the four entrances to the court of the temple-"there was an extensive (very large) hall, connected with numerous rooms and closets, "high as well as low, which served as houses of arms, where these were kept together "with the ammunition. For, as they regarded the temples as their strongest places, "and their retreats in case of danger, they held there their arms and means of defence." He further mentions, under the uncouth name of "Tlacochcalcoacatlyacapan," "an-"other hall . . . . Here they kept a quantity of arrows (or darts, 'saetas') which "were made every year, and there deposited until wanted." See also Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVII). Gomara (Vedia, I. "El templo de Méjico," p. 349). "At each door (of "the four) of the court of the principal temple there was a large hall surrounded by "high and low additions. These were filled with arms, like public and communal "houses, for the temples were the strongholds of each pueblo, and therefore contained "the arms and ammunition." Of course the square of the great "teocalli" of Mexico attracted principal attention.

[29] "Tlacochcalco," or "Tlacochcalli," derives from "tlacochtli," dart, and "calli," house.

[30] Every author concedes that there were several "houses of arms" at Mexico. Bernal-Diez says there were two (Cap. XCI, p. 87, of vol. II, Vedia). Gomara ("Casas de armas," Vedia, I, p. 345) says: "Montezuma had some (rather 'several' 'algunas') houses of arms, whose blazon were a bow and two quivers over each door." Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 186) says; "he had, not one, but many houses for the "keeping and storage of arms;" (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVII, p. 197) he copies almost textually Gomara's statement about the halls over the entrances of the court to the temple of Mexico, and adds also, like Gomara, "porque los templos, aliende de que "servian de casas de Oracion, eran las Fortaleças con que en tiempo de Guerra mas se "defendian, i tenian en ellos la municion, i Almacen." Previously he says (p. 196): "There were many temples in Mexico; according to the parishes, or quarters, of which "there were many." See also Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 186): "porque tenian "muchas casas de varas con sus puntas de pedernal, etc., etc." It shows that the storehouses *were distributed over the pueblo, and not only limited to the main temple.* Cortés, when he burnt Quauhpopoca, emptied for that purpose the arsenals of the main

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712 1524, gives an approximate picture of the distribution of these edifices, or rather clusters of buildings.[31]

346 "They called these temples 'teocallis,' and we found all over
361 "the land that in the best part of the settlement they made a great
"quadrangular court, which, in the largest pueblo, was one cross-
"bow shot from one corner to another, while in the smaller places
"it was not as large. This court they enclosed by a wall, many of
"which enclosures were with battlements; the entrances looking
"towards the chief highways and streets, which all terminated at
"the court, and even, in order to still more honor their temples,
"they led their roads up to these in a straight line from two and
"three leagues distance. It was a wonderful aspect, to witness
"from the top of the chief temple, how from all the quarters and
"the minor places, the roadways all led up in a straight line to
"the courts of the teocallis, . . . the devil did not content
"himself with the aforesaid teocallis, but in each pueblo and in
"each quarter, as far as a quarter of one league off, there were
"other small courts containing, sometimes only one, sometimes
"three or four teocallis . . . . ."

712 The arms and stores contained in the "houses of darts," are
421 often regarded as having belonged to the chiefs, or so-called "Kings" of the Mexican tribe, and the buildings themselves are mentioned as "royal storehouses," or "arsenals." It was not so, however. The arms and stores belonged to the people, and they were under the control of certain stewards ("calpixca") who distributed them to the military chiefs of the tribe, whenever any decision of the head-council, or any sudden emergency required it.[32]

temple, he thought thus to disarm the Mexicans, burning the arms (500 cartloads, says Tapia). Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VIII, cap. IX, p. 214 ("pareciendo á Hernando Cortés, "que era mas seguro consejo quitar las armas al enemigo pues la ocasion presente era "para ello muy aparejada"), together with that chief. But he only emptied one of these "houses of arms," and soon found out that the Mexicans had several others left.

[31] Fray Toribio, of Benavente (Kingdom of Leon in Spain), calling himself "Motolinia" (poor, unfortunate, unhappy), arrived at Mexico about the 17th of June, 1524. He was one of the first twelve Franciscan missionaries sent to New-Spain. The above quotation is from his "Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España," written about 1540. (Tratado I, cap. XII, pp. 63 and 65.) He died on the 9th of Aug., 1569.

[32] The "calpixqui" were civil functionaries, stewards, gatherers of tribute, to whose care the public stores were entrusted. The name is generally translated as "mayordomo," even by Molina (Vocab., II, p. 11). Its proper signification, however, would be derived from "tlacatl," man, and "pixqui," "what is gathered from the crops," therefore collectors or gatherers. Tezozomoc relates that before the foray against the tribes of Cuetlaxtlan: "Thus the calpixca or stewards of the tribes gave to their quar-"ters (stores and supplies of all kinds, too numerous to mention)." (Cap. XXXII, p.

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Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33]

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection.

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin (*"tlacochtli," "tlatzontectli"*) was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood (*"otlatl"*), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl." "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 85, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadiças," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 345. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "inventando aquel modo de ar- "mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos flegas." Señor Ramirez says "Refiérese pro- "bablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi- "cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Flega" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

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411 Bows and arrows were used, probably, by every warrior, but they were a less *convenient* weapon than the simple dart.[38] The bow ("*tlauitolli*")[39] was made of the same wood as the stem of the javelins ("otlatl"), its length varied according to the tribes, but those of the Mexicans were short.[40] The chord was made [237] out of the hair or sinews of deer. The arrow ("*mitl*") needs no description. Sometimes it was with several branches or heads. They carried the arrows in quivers suspended from the shoulder. Poisoned arrows were not in use among the Mexicans.[41]

Last among the missiles, though not least in importance, were pebbles and stones, thrown by slings or by hand.[42] The store-

we shall not deny it, appears to us not yet established as a fact. They may have had something similar to it, however, but it was no commonly used weapon, and we would beg to suggest that the "invention" of the "atlatl" at Tacubaya relates, not to the cross-bow, as Sr. Ramirez indicates, but simply to the "harpoon" (fisga) or javelin fastened to its carrier by a long cord. The Mexicans, besides, had a very characteristic name for cross-bow (Molina, I, p. 116). It is "tepuztlauitolli," composed of "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "tlauitolli," bow,—*a bow of* IRON,—plainly indicating that the weapon became known to them only after or during the conquest. Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés "Historia general y natural de Indias," written towards the middle of the 16th century, but published in full only 1853, by the Academy of Madrid, gives (Vol. III, plate I, figs. 2 and 3) a drawing of an instrument used by the Indians of Cueva (Coyba), on the Isthmus of Darien, for throwing their darts. He says (Lib. XXIX, cap. XXVI, p. 127): "In some sections of the country the Indians are warlike, in other "sections not. They hardly ever use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, "and with darts which they throw by means of *estóricas* (a kind of *arientos*), a well-"made wooden contrivance. With this they hurl the javelin, always keeping the 'es-"tórica' in hand." The drawing referred to represents a wooden slide, shorter than the dart itself. The latter was laid on it. On each side of the slide there was a ring through which they passed the first and second fingers, holding it between and resting it on the palm of the hand. This gave them considerable accuracy and power in throwing the dart. An uncouth but very plain representation of a similar contrivance is found on plate V to the fifth chapter of the 2d Treatise of Durán, thus showing that the "atlatl" was nothing else but Oviedo's "estórica." Furthermore, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, identifies the "atlatl" in all probability with the "throwing stick" of the Aleutians of the Northwest, and still in use among them.

[38] Although the bow and arrow are a very deadly weapon, the *dart* was most convenient, and therefore most popular among the Mexicans; at least to open the combat (Mendieta, lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[39] Molina (Vocabulario I, p. 13).

[40] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Some tribes are mentioned as using bows 5½ feet long. The natives of Tehuacan are stated to have been extraordinarily good archers (Mendieta, lib. II, pp. 130 and 131).

[41] There is no trace of poisoned arrows north of the Isthmus of Darien. (See "Relacion de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla "del oro," etc., etc., "escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya," in vol. III of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos," by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1829.) Also, Pedro de Cieza, of Leon ("Crónica del Peru," in Vedia, vol. II, cap. VII, p. 361).

[42] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Stones were picked up while fighting and thrown at each other in the field. Tezozomoc mentions "stones sent off with cords" ("con cordeles"), otherwise we have no description of the sling.

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houses contained supplies of slings ("*tematlatl*"),[43] while the missiles themselves were accumulated for defence on the flat housetops,[44] or, in the open field, taken up "ad libitum" for aggressive use.[45]

Next in importance to the aggressive *missiles*, as weapons intended for *closer quarters*, were, to the Mexicans, the *sword* and *club*. The spear ("*tepuztopilli*"[46]) was probably not an *original* Mexican weapon, but, while they used it against the Spaniards towards the close of their defence, it still appears to have been most in use among more southerly tribes.

The *sword* ("maccuahuitl") was 3½ to 4 feet long, and 4 to 5 inches wide.[47] The anonymous conqueror says:[48] "In order to "make their swords, they cut out a blade of the shape of our *two-*"*handers*, but with a shorter hilt, and about three fingers thick. "They cut a groove along the edge, and insert into this groove a "hard stone, cutting like our blades of Toledo."[49] This stone was *obsidian* ("Iztli"), and the edge of the sword, composed of fragments "three inches long and two inches broad," became at the outset as sharp as a razor. These fragments were very firmly cemented into the wood, but, although the sword was double-edged, it soon became transformed into an ordinary club, since obsidian is very brittle, and splintered after the first heavy blows upon iron armour. At the *beginning* of an engagement, this weapon was much feared by the Spaniards.[50] The warrior carried

[43] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Motolinia (Tratado III. cap. VIII. p. 188). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII. cap. XI, p. 187). The word "tematlatl" is difficult to etymologize. It *may* derive from "Temac," *in somebody's hands*, and "atlatl," *strap*, or from "Temalli," substance or body, and "atlatl."

[44] Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXXXIII and CXXVI). Cortés (Carta. IIIa. Vedia, I, p. 41). Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 373).

[45] Cortés (Cart. IIa. Vedia, I, p. 86). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[46] From "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "topilli," rod or pole. The long spears or lances were mostly used by the inhabitants of Chiapas. During the siege of Mexico, the aborigines defending it used "long lances of ours, or scythes ('dalles,' spears), "much longer than ours, from the arms which they had captured at our defeat and dis-"comfiture in Mexico" (Bernal-Diez, cap. CLI; Vedia, II, p. 178).

[47] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII and LXV). The latter calls them "espadas de dos manos."

[48] "El Conquistador Anónimo" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. 373).

[49] See also Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 130). Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 186).

[50] Clavigero positively asserts that the edge was of *obsidian*, and flint could never have given such a cutting blade. Mendieta (Lib. V, Parte II, cap. VII, pp. 737 and 738) calls the sword "macana," and says it was double-edged: "cercada de navajas de piedra por ambas partes." The first blows were terrific, but only these, then the edge broke. See Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187. "I encoman las Espadas de Palo

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411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quauhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados". Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful, as the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahintl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[17] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "macquahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Carib. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru, Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7, p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta. This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matusino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 322). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re- "donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitcilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un buarro."

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round, small, "target," worn by the "brave" on his left arm and made of "canes netted together and interwoven with cotton 'two-"fold,' covered on the outside with gilded boards and with feath-"ers, and so strong that a hard cross-bow shot could alone pene-"trate them . . . ."[54]

With this shield they warded off blows in close combat,[55] and even arrows and darts at full speed. Each warrior probably carried his own shield, although it is sometimes stated that the archers, while shooting, were shielded by others.[56] This, however, would necessarily imply a greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow.

The remainder of the protective armour of the Mexicans is intimately connected with their *costume*.

The ordinary dress of a Mexican consisted of a sleeveless jacket ("huepil") fastened on the right shoulder, and of the breechcloth ("maxtlatl"). The head, arms, and legs from the knees downwards, were bare. A mantle, short among the common Indians, longer among the chiefs, completed the costume.[57] Sometimes they went to war without any other protection, but in most cases the warrior wore a frock of quilted cotton, about three-quarters of

[54] The "anonymous conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 373). Compare Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 423), and Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[55] See the description of a single combat between a Cempoaltecan and Tlaxcaltecan (Herrera, Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. VI, p. 143, and Torquemada, Lib. IV, cap. XXXI, p. 422).

[56] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII) and the anonymous conqueror both assert, that each warrior had a shield. But Fray G. de Mendieta is still more positive (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "Tras estos llegaban los golpes de espada y rodela, con los cuales iban "arrodelados los de arco y flecha, y alli gastaban su almacen." However, Fray Diego Durán says: (Cap. XIV, p. 121) "y llegados á un lugar que llaman Tecuitlatenco, hicie-"ron alto y esperaron la armada de Mexico que venian por la laguna, que eran mill "canoas, muy bien Adereçadas de geute y paueses con gran numero de fiegas y varas "arrojadiças, flechas y rodelas y de hombres para defensa de los flecheros, los quales "estauan tan diestros en desviar flechas con las rodelas, que era espanto, porque en "viéndola venir, luego la dauan con la rodela que la echauan á través." This seems to indicate that there were special men detailed to protect the archers, and therefore a division into different arms, although there is no other evidence of such a fact. It may have been the case here, since the fight (against Cuitlahuac) was to take place on water chiefly, but nowhere else do we meet a division into kinds of arms, like archers, spear-men, swordsmen, etc., etc. All Mexican warriors were armed as nearly alike as possible. The Anonymous Conqueror, after mentioning the different weapons, says: "y "molti, ò la maggior parti di esse portano tutte queste sorti di armi con che combat-tono." ("Relatione, etc.," in Vol. I. of Col. de Doc., p. 374.)

[57] Gomara (Conquista de Méjico. Vedia, Tom. I. p. 440. "Calzan unos zapatos como "alpargates, pannicos por bragas. Visten una manta quadrada, añudada al hombro "derecho como gitanas"). The Anonymous Conqueror (p. 376. "La maniera del ves-"tire de gli huomini"). Tezozomoc (Crónica, Cap. XXXVI, p. 56. "the macehuals "of lower grade, wore short mantles, plain, of cotton or nequen"). The "maxlatl" is described by the Anonymous Conqueror as follows: "a towel, like unto a sheet

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714 an inch thick, up to one and one-half inches, and therefore strong enough to resist an arrow-shot, or even the dart at long range. This was the cotton-armour subsequently adopted by the Spaniards under the name of "Escaupil" ("Ichcahuipilli").[58] Sometimes even the limbs were encased in such quilted armour,[59] and the outside of the "ichcahuipil" was adorned with feathers and plates of gold or silver. The *feet* were protected by leather soles or moccasin-like shoes ("cactli," "cotaras"), but the use of them was not general.[60] Warriors of merit especially, inserted their *heads*

[291] "worn over the head while travelling, of various colors, and variously adorned, with "the ends hanging downwards, one in front and the other behind." It was common to the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, and is represented on the sculptures of Palenqué, of Copan, and of Chichen-Itza. The tables of Durán give, perhaps, the most reliable picture of these costumes.

[58] "Ichcahuipilli" derives from "Ichcatl," cotton, and "huepil," jacket. Alvarado, in his second letter to Cortés, dated 28 July, 1524 (Vedia, Vol. I), mentions an ichcahuipil used by Indians of Guatemala, which was three inches thick and reached as far down as the ankle: "porque venian tan armados, que el que caia en el suelo no se po- "dia levantar; y con sus armas coseletes de tres dedos de algodon, y hasta en los "pies. . . . ." (p. 462.)

[59] There are several representations of such protection of the thighs, and also of the arms, especially in the splendid work of Lord Kingsborough, taken from the Mendoza codex. The entire costume, from the neck to the knee, seems to be of one piece. We have no accurate *description*, however, of them. It is doubtful whether they terminated into upper "leggings," or whether into a frock-like continuation, reaching from the girdle to the knee. Perhaps both; at least there are traces of both. (Anonymous Conqueror, p. 374. Clavigero, Lib. VII, cap. XXIII.) The absence of the "Ichcahuipil" was not, however, always a sign of low rank. Some warriors of particular merit even went to war almost naked (See Humboldt, "Vues de Cordilléres," Tab. XIV, fig. 4), and Herrera (Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, speaking of the natives of Tepeaca, who were subject to Mexico: "and the most valiant ones went only in breech-cloth, painting their naked body black and red"). There was, consequently, no absolute uniformity and uniform distinction in dress and armament, and this was still increased by the variety of customs among the numerous tribes which assisted the Mexicans in war, each tribe having its own manner of dress, and keeping separate on the battlefield. A Mexican army must have been a rather strange, motley crowd. Still there was, in all probability, less variety than among the Peruvian warlike bodies. Of the latter's variegated array the report of Francisco de Xeres, secretary of Pizarro, gives a good illustration (Vedia, vol. II).

[60] "Cactli," corrupted into "catle," is rendered by Molina (II, p. 11) as "shoes, or sandals." Torquemada says (Lib. IV, cap. XVI, p. 430, vol. I): "the King wore "golden shoes, which they call cacles, and are after the fashion of those of the ancient "Romans, adorned with much jewelry, the soles fastened with cords." (Idem: Lib. XI, cap. XXX, p. 363) "they gave to him cotaras or sandals . . . ." Gomara (Conquista, etc., p. 322), in the list of presents sent by Cortés to the Emperor, mentions: "many shoes like as of grass, made of deer-hides, some with golden thread, and the "soles of certain white and blue stones . . . ." "other shoes, six pairs, of leather "of different color, adorned with gold or silver or pearls." The question is, whether they were moccasins or sandals. The sculptures of Palenqué show an approach to either. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 214), in speaking of the distinctions of dress, says: "And [643] "thus it was ordained, first: that the Kings should not appear in public, except in ur- "gent cases; that the King alone might wear a crown in the city, but that in war all the "great chiefs and valiant captains might wear crowns also, and royal tokens . . . .

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into wooden forms, intermediate between masks and helmets, imitating heads of ferocious beasts like tigers, lions, wolves, also snakes, and covered with the skins of these animals.[61] The principal captains and war-chiefs were distinguished by their wide and long mantles,[62] by the cut and tress of their hair,[63] and by towering bushes of green feathers on the so-called "helmets" protecting the head.[64]

"It was ordained that the King and his coadjutor, Tlacaelel, should alone wear shoes "in the royal house, and that none of the great chiefs might enter the palace with shoes "on, under penalty of death; and they alone could wear shoes in the city, except those "who had distinguished themselves in war, which for their merit, and in token of their "bravery, were permitted to wear light and common sandals, because the gilded and "painted ones belonged to the great chiefs alone." We would suggest that the "cactli" or "cotarsa" were half-moccasins, similar to slippers. It is not devoid of interest to notice here, that even the wearing of these articles depended upon actual merit and reputation *achieved in war*, and not upon wealth or inheritance. War was, indeed, "the life of the tribe."

[61] Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., I, p. 372). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Drawings are found in Clavigero, in the Mendoza Codex, as published by Lord Kingsborough, and in the frontispiece to the 3d Decade of Herrera (Vol. I). It may be that the honorific titles of "daring lions, tigers, and eagles," which have greatly contributed to the supposition of the existence of "military orders," or "orders of chivalry," were based upon the wearing of such costumes by the braves. As already stated, not all the warriors carried such masks or helmets, but our data are too imperfect to enable us to state positively the class or standing of those who wore them.

[62] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215). "Tambien se determinó que solo el rey pudiese traer "las mantas galanas de labores y pinturas de algodon y hilo de diversas colores y plu-"meria, doradas y labradas con diuersas labores y pinturas y diferencialias quando á "él le paresciese, sin aver excepcion en traer y usar las mantas quel quisiese; y los "grandes señores, que eran hasta doce, las mantas de tal y tal labor y hechura, y los "de menos valia, como uviese hecha tal ó tal valencia ó hançaña, otras diferentes; los "soldados, de otra menor labor y hechura, no pudiendo usar de otra preciosa labor ni "diferencia, mas de aquella que alli se le señalaba con sus cañidores y bragueros, que "aludian y seguian la hechura de la manta que le era permitida. Toda la demas gente, "so pena de la vida, salió determinado que ninguno usase de algodon ni se pusiese "otra manta sino de neguen, y questas mantas no pasasen mas de quantos cubriesen la "rodilla, y si alguno la trujese que llegnse á la garganta del pié, fue-e muerto, saluo si "no tuviese alguna sennal en las piernas de herida que en la guerra le uviesen dado, " . . . .") Also Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 36). Here again we find the kind and cut of the mantle, its ornaments determined by the warlike achievements of its bearer.

[63] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 37). Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," Vol. I, p. 343). The figure of the Atlas in folio is taken from the Codex Anonymous of the Vatican. Says the Anonymous Conqueror: "To him who distinguished himself in war "they made a mark in the hair, that his prowess might be recognized and seen at once, "since they never wore the head covered" (p. 371). Braids or tresses of hair as well as of leather, were sometimes given as presents, and worn. Tezozomoc mentions them frequently, under different names.

[64] The head-dress, or "divisa."—"tlauiztli," or "quetzalpatzactli," is represented on nearly every Mexican painting or picture-leaf. It is also represented on the stone of sacrifice, as adorning the victorious warrior of each group. Its size is generally exaggerated. Gomara (p. 322, Vedia, I) includes in his list of objects sent by Cortés to the Emperor: "a helmet of wood, gold-plated, with jewels in front or outside, and twenty-"five little golden bells, and its crest of a green bird, whose eyes, beak, and feet were

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While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each subdivision of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time; "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

"of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 86) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego Garcia de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 39, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquecho!" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1909, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, in vol. II, of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 267, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiznándose las caras con la tizne divina, quellos así llamauan, y el rey Auit-"zotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas aquias . . ."

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Almost insensibly we have here abandoned the field of the armament of the Mexicans, entering, nay, trespassing, upon that of their *military organization*. 701

This organization is but imperfectly known to us. Still, its knowledge is of the highest importance, since, with a tribe as essentially warlike as the Mexicans, military institutions are often blended with those of civil life, and we may presume that the same principle pervades both; that the degree of development of the one gives a clue to that of the other. According as we picture to ourselves the condition of ancient Mexican society, we shall view and judge their military organization.

All the older authors upon Mexico; and they have been implicitly followed by the great mass of subsequent writers, describe to us a Mexican empire, with an hereditary nobility and an *elective* despot at its head. This autocrat was not only absolute civil chief, he was also Judge and military commander. He declared peace and war, directed the forces, he nominated and deposed officers at his pleasure. Some restraints are allowed, occasionally, to have existed, upon such a power analogous only to that of the despots of Asia, but even the most distinguished writers of *modern* times have unhesitatingly accepted the picture of an absolute Indian monarchy in Mexico.[69] 114

Still this picture, however tempting and fascinating, to imagination especially, has not always satisfied the student's mind. Without placing much stress on the clumsy attacks of James Adair[70] upon the Spanish authors on Mexico, or on De Pauw's injudicious "Researches,"[71] we meet, however, with an earnest and careful criticism in Robertson's classical work. While the great

[69] A. de Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," 1825, Lib. II, chap. VI, p. 274. "Leur système de féodalité, leur hiérarchie civile et militaire se trouvant dès "lors si compliquées, qu'il faut supposer une longue suite, d'événements politiques pour "que l'enchaînement singulier des autorités de la noblesse et du clergé ait pu s'établir; "et pour qu'une petite portion du peuple, esclave elle-même du sultan Mexicain, ait "pu subjuguer la grande masse de la nation"). W. H. Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, chapter II, p. 23. Book II, chapter VI, p. 312). Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale"), and H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States"). I quote but the most prominent writers on Mexico of this (19th) century.

[70] James Adair ("History of the American Indians," London, 1775).

[71] "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains," a very injudicious book, which, by its extravagance and audacity, created a great deal of harm. It permitted Clavigero to attack even Robertson, because the latter had also applied sound criticism to the study of American aboriginal history, and by artfully placing both as upon the same platform, to counteract much of the good effects of Robertson's work.

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historian admits and acknowledges whatever appears to him as true and sound in the works of his predecessors, he still takes a different view of the condition of the Mexican aborigines, and indicates, so to say, an entirely new path.[73] It has been the work of the distinguished American ethnologist, Lewis H. Morgan, to open this path fully.[73]

But whereas it is very easy and plain to trace the institutions of the aborigines where they are still in vigor, it is extremely difficult to obtain anything like a clear conception thereof in Mexico, since, as we have already stated, those institutions are gone like their architectural remains, and the other sources for a knowledge thereof are often diffuse, and conflicting in their accounts. Moreover, all the older authorities on Spanish America are under the influence of eastern (European or Asiatic) ideas, whatever appeared to them strange or new in America they compared with what they thought might be analogous to it among nations of the Old World.[74] What, in their first process of thinking was merely a *comparative* became very soon a *positive*, *terminology*, for the

[73] "History of America" (9th edition, 1800. Vol. III, book VII, p. 274). "The Mexi-"cans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the useful metals, or the aid of domestic "animals, laboured under disadvantages which must have greatly retarded their pro-"gress, and in their highest state of improvement their power was so limited, and their "operations so feeble, that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond "the infancy of civil life." If the first part of this quotation is evidently incorrect, since the Mexicans used copper, silver, and gold, even tin, perhaps, and the Peruvians made alloys;—the latter portion of it is undoubtedly true. He further sustains it by the following remark (Id. p. 281): "The infancy of nations is so long, and, even when every "circumstance is favourable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any "maturity of strength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans seems to be a "strong presumption of some exaggeration, in the splendid descriptions which have "been given of their government and manners." Notwithstanding those very clear and judicious remarks, Robertson has, though reluctantly, bowed to the admission of feudalism, and of feudal monarchy in Mexico (Id. p. 282).

[73] See "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family." Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Chapter VI, p. 468, "The communal family." Also, "Mon-"tezuma's Dinner," in the "North American Review," April, 1876. The learned author has made a bold stroke for the establishment of American ethnology on a new basis.

[74] "Montezuma's Dinner," p. 367. "All the grand terminology of the Old World, "created under despotic and monarchical institutions during several thousand years "of civilization, to decorate particular men and classes of men, has been lavished by "our author with American prodigality upon plain Indian sachems and war-chiefs, "without perceiving that thereby the poor Indian was grievously wronged, for he had "not invented such institutions nor formed such a society as these terms imply." Mr. Morgan, to whose kindness and friendly protection I am so largely indebted, will not misunderstand it if I say here, that while his criticism of the current of ideas running through all the sources in ancient Mexico appears to me the most true and logical one, his remarks upon the writers themselves are not always justified. This observation, from one whom he has honored by becoming his guide and teacher, will, we trust, be regarded in a kindly spirit.

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purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sections, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II. p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatolcoyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads."

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 43). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Texozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les *chefs* forment le grand conseil." Tlatiluico, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God). "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatiluico became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y así estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que eqo Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

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174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 29). "Rapport sur les différentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 33).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diaz, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371), "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata in tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun disturbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli può sligare, ne torgliela mai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

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no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-*701
heritance. Merit alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank555
of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that
purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfa-*565
ther) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and643
age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief be-
ing chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed wor-
thy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two701
classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs
proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were701
merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the554
capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-
"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave,
"they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much,
"that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had
"been the chief himself."

[84] Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de
"Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient
"un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc." p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were
"called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If
"one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of
"it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been
"invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Monterumas.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insist-
ing upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to
cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicac-
tic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chi-
malli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl,"
arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe,
expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians.
It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title
of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good
hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named
thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bour-
bourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh,"
Introd., pp. 76 and 110). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "na
nyéhé" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome,
1841, after Neve y Molina).

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701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 260 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII, cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

"Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de volver piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[88] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-
[685] cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, ò tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcautin," "quauhtin," and "ococolo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

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The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending orders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauhtin*," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 562; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 587), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 542): "Los Capitanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

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[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbots." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 903), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 23), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

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posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests excepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "minor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras, y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la caneça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios, muy bien armados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Coyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, *then* they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 24, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

[98] Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 499) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

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members of the chief council,[100] and we suggest their titles to have been, respectively: "cutter of men" ("Tlacateccatl"), "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), "blood-shedder" ("Ezhuahuacatl"), and "chief of the eagle and tuna" ("Cuauhnochtecuhtli," or, abbreviated, "Cuauhnochtli").[101] We have no in-

tion of the existence of feudal institutions in Mexico. The divisions were treated as geographical sections only, the sub-divisions by kin were overlooked, and little importance was attached to the fact that every office was filled by election only, and never by appointment. Thus, says Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), "... y así electo uno destos "cuatro, luego ponían otro en su lugar." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Des- "pues del rey era el grado de los quatro como príncipes electores, los quales despues "de elegido el Rey, tambien ellos eran elegidos y de ordinario eran hermanos o' parien- "tos muy cercanos del Rey." Clavigero says positively (Lib. VII, cap. XXI): "The "highest military dignity was that of commanding general of the army. There were "four different classes of generals, among which the Tlacochcalcatl had the highest "rank. Each class had its particular tokens, but we are unable to determine how far "the three other classes were subordinate to the first. Neither can we give their names, "since the authors differ with each other on the subject. To the generals succeeded "the captains, each of which commanded a certain number of soldiers." See, besides, note below.

[100] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), after naming the four grades, or rather dignities, proceeds: "A estos quatro señores y dichos, despues de electos príncipes los hacian del "consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, sin parecer de los "quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

[101] "Tlacochcalcatl," from "Tlacochtli," dart, "calli," house, "tlacatl," man. "Tla- "cateccatl,"—"tlacatl," man, "tequi," to cut or carve. "Ezhuahuacatl,"—"ezhtli," blood, "nauana," to scratch, "tlacatl," man. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli,"—"cuauhtli," eagle, "nochtli," tuna, "tecuhtli," chief. These four titles, as pertaining to the four principal Mexican chiefs, are given by Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441). Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 24), and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 79), who copies, evidently, Acosta. Tezozomoc says: "All these were like principal "caciques and titularies ('señores de título') in the government and command of the "Mexican tribe, and after them come the Tlacanes, valorous soldiers, surnamed cap- "tains, in their order; ... ." But all those authors substitute "Tlillancalqui," in place of "Cuauhnochtili." Nevertheless, we have ventured to accept "Cuauhnochtili," since "Tlillancalqui" (from "Tlilli," black object, "tlan," affixum denoting place, and "tlacatl," man), man of the black place or black house, denotes a *civil and religious office*, and not a warrior proper. Durán says: "We must know that there was an idol "of blackness, and that of this idol, and of his house, came forth the title for this "chief." Acosta affirms positively that the three first named titles were "those of war- "riors" ("eran de guerreros"). On the other hand, "Cuauhnochtili" is frequently men- tioned, both by Tezozomoc and by Durán, as "captain-general," and the bishop of Santo Domingo. Ramirez de Fuenleal, in his letter to Charles V, dated Mexico, 3 Nov., 1532, says: "An officer, called Guamuchil, fills the office of 'alguacil maior!'" (Coll. Ternaux-Compans: "Recueil de Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique," p. 249). Torquemada, also, after calling "Cuauhnoctli" a "judge," calls him subsequently a chief executioner (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 353 and 354). Finally, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57), after enumerating the principal chieftains of Mexico, "three of which, "Cuauhnoctli, Tlacatecatl, and Tlacochcalcatl, called Chachi as much as any of the "others, and who, for their high valor, had their hair bound behind the occiput with "red leather."

The "Chachi" of Tezozomoc are identical with the "Quachictin" of Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543), "and one of the highest degrees and honors which could be "attained was to be allowed to tie the hair, being the token of great captain, and these "were called Quachictin, which was the most honorific title given to captains, a title held

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formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, the names given occasionally being personal.[109]

701 554 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuauhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tlilancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil, and its military head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendency or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? if not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

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If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacatecatl" in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

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[109] "Itzquauhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1875.)

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a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103] 701 554

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),[104] represented to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the 643 701

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 97). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian "atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del qual col-"gauan unos ramales hazia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas "borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Canalle-"ros era el mismo Rey tambien, y asi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, "y en Chapultepec, donde estan Motecuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son "de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," V . I): "il (Montezuma) a les cheveux "réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des prin-"ces et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' "'tatuan,' 'jutiacal.'" It is easy to discern "tlacatecuhtli," and "tlatoani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à "qui ils donnent le nom de tlacatecle ou tlatuan."

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tlatoani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When "the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the "tribe, called Achcacauhti, and also the captains and old warriors, called Yautequios-"ques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), "called Tlenamacsque and Papacsqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. "There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of "the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a val-"iant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink "wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good "understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nom-"inated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all confer-"ring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, "y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ò hermanos de "reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los "señorios, sino por election." "Y asi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado "y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo pri-"mero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden "que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlacatecuhtli had to belong to a certain kin, is very doubtful.

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displeasure of the tribe.[107] He was but the commander-in-chief of the Mexican warriors; an office which, among a nation so essentially warlike, was of the highest importance and rank, and which might have procured to the incumbent an influence tending to impair the freedom of its institutions. But there was a wholesome check placed upon such encroachments by the commanding war-chief, through the election of an associate, which carried the singular and strange title of "snake-woman," or "female-snake" ("Cihua-cohuatl") and who, while being more of a civil chieftain, still alternated with him in command, as emergency required.[108] Through this arrangement, the tribe of Mexico became always provided with at least one military head, and if the "chief of men" was out leading a foray, the "Cihua-cohuatl" remained at the pueblo, or vice-versa. The chief command of a campaign, could, besides, be delegated by them to a subordinate leader.[109]

We know too little of the office of "Cihua-cohuatl" to enter into any details regarding it. The "chief of men," however, has become famous in history through the last three incumbents of the office,[110] It required an extraordinary man, among the tribe, to fill it. He was to be "an earnest and sober man" (says Sahagun), "wise, affable, and a fluent speaker." But especially was he required to be one of the most prominent warriors, who had given proofs of undaunted bravery, ability, and of great circum-

[107] Montezuma was deposed during his life-time, and Cuitlahua was appointed his successor. Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, p. 132, cap. CXXVI): when they spoke to Montezuma they said: "Hacemosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por "señor, ... y allí le nombró cómo se llamaba, que se decia Cuidlauaca, señor "de Iztapalapa, que no fué Guatemuz, el cual desde á dos meses fué señor." Cortés (Note 2 to "Segunda Relacion," p. 42, Vedia I): "Los Indios le mataron por cobarde." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494, and cap. LXX, p. 497). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. X. cap. X, p. 267).

[108] The "Cihua-cohuatl" (from "cihuatl," woman, and "cohuatl," snake) is variously designated as "vice-roy," "captain-general," "supreme judge," "coadjutor of the king," "second king." He was a warrior, too, and during the siege officiated as commander in chief, together with Quauhtemotzin. It results from the statement of Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332) that he was equal to the so-called "king." What the exact functions of this office were, it is not here the place to discuss; it is sufficient for the purpose of this essay, to determine that there were, in all likelihood, two head-chiefs of the Mexican tribe, or two principal war-chiefs, like those of the Iroquois. The "Cihuacohuatl," according to Tezozomoc, was also elective.

[109] Thus we see, sometimes "Tlacochcalcatl," then again "Tlacatecatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," made commanders-in-chief.

[110] These were: Montezuma II (Motecuhzuma Xocoyotzin), Cuitlahuatzin, and Quauhtemotzin.

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spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos' á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 357).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 107): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de eletos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que touiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su icbcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 253) "Relacion de la Entrada de Nuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta ciudad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron á rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Yacaxiuiti," from "Yacatl," nose, "xiuitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tentetl," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II, p. 84). "braçalete."

[119] "maiemecatl," "braçalete . . . ro, o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 83).

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golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were entitled to wear them thus.[121]

But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123] A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Coxcatl," or "coscapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Coxcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordénose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaciel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro- "vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la cauega con plumería." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Camé" and "Vukub-Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1695. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re- "duccion y progresos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Soto-mayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "subtle piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "vitorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcance." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremetar y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, ó sus generales, los quales tocanan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure *may* be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Minutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

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Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-ycpalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket, "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "cueculi," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 9 (to chapter 22 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocan,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 20, "consejo real." "tlatocanecentialiliztli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba." "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and companions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 96, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 32, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulloa: "vinieron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas vinièron muchos Indios Mejicanos, y como vieron los estandartes y navio grande, conociéron que alli habian de ir á "hablar al capitan, y fuéronse derechos al navio, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 13 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . . era la dominacion que se daba á los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente á "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban á los españoles." ("Real Ejécutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente á los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-ycpalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei, á los quales comunica el Rei autoridad absoluta, para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su cola, y absoluta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Gobierno, *conoce la audiencia, que "toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad la pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

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646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It [722] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi- [724] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the forny against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 90; cap. XXI, p. 93; cap. XXXI, p. 46). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 159.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in- "auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar à los dioses y cebar à los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 98; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizocic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 131, 132, and 133). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 196).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

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The question of peace or war could only be decided by the supreme council of chiefs.[133] If war was to take place it was *sometimes*, but *not always*, resolved to send delegates to the tribe concerned, challenging it to fight or to submit and to become tributary to the Mexicans.[134] These delegates carried particular distinctive tokens;[135] they proceeded unmolested to the pueblo which they were to notify, and, entering the council-house, briefly exposed the object of their coming to the chiefs there gathered. If, after deliberation, the tribe thus threatened agreed to submit and to give tribute, then all was well, and the delegates departed again, loaded with presents. But if any reparation or proposal for accommodation other than *actual submission* was proffered, or if the reply was even defiant, the Mexican delegates at once stepped up to the head war-chief of the enemy, and with white paint (which they carried in their casket of supplies) anointed his arms. Further, they placed feathers on his head and gave to him a shield and sword. This was the declaration of war.[136] Thereupon they withdrew, but if a custom prevailing among all the tribes then inhabiting the

[133] We have, on this point, the positive declaration of the last Montezuma himself. When the tribe of Huexotzinco sent delegates to Mexico, proposing an alliance against Tlaxcallan, Montezuma replied to them: "Brothers and sons, you are welcome, rest "Yourselves a while, for although I am king indeed, I alone cannot satisfy you, but "only together with all the chiefs of the sacred Mexican senate" ("Yo solo no puede "valeros, sino con todos los principales del sacro senado Mexicano." Tezozomoc, Cap. XCVII). Also, Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I).

[134] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 129): "This was the common way, although "sometimes they took them by surprise."

[135] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I. p. 534): "in the right carried an arrow, holding it "by its head, the feathered end upwards, and in the left hand a small shield."

[136] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des Anciens rois de Texcuco," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 269, 270, 271, and 272) claims that they sent three different summons, one by the Mexicans, one by the Texcucans, and another by the Tlacopans. But this is not otherwise confirmed. The answer, unless time was positively requested, and the Mexicans deemed it politic to delay, decided the very first time.

Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129): "Determined and resolved that there should "be war, they sent certain shields and robes to those whom they intended to assail (as "it was their custom to never send a message without a present)." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537, almost a literal copy from Mendieta). Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15; cap. XXVII, p. 40, etc., etc.). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXVIII). Duràn (Cap. IX, p. 74; cap. LVII, p. 450. Montezuma being challenged by the Huexotzinca, and Cap. LIX, p. 464, by the Cholulteca). The white paint, "tizatl" (Molina, II, p. 113, "cierto barniz, o tierra blanca." See, also, Tezozomoc, Cap. VIII), was an emblem of *death*, the shield, "for to defend himself therewith," and the sword, "for to offend if "he was able." The latter is analogous to the red tomahawk sent in token of war by northern savages (Loskiel: "Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter "den Indianern in Nord-Amerika." Barby, 1789, Part I, cap. XI, p. 187. Also, Adair: "History of the American Indians").

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country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 555): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax- "adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, teniendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaelelt zin" returned for the second time to Azcaputzalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezozomoctli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "maccuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 482 and 483), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ylhuicamina.")

[139] Bernal-Diez (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y allí tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tanian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "dos leguas de allí se oia; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 382, of Vol. II).

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armament.[140] Thus the largest bodies were assembled, furnished with weapons, and organized under their respective leaders of all grades on very short notice, awaiting the signal from the chief commander to sally forth, either by canoes across the lake,[141] or along the causeways, to the mainland. Each warrior carried mostly his own frugal provisions[142] which the women of each household had prepared; "corn-bread, meal-cakes, ground beans, "corn-meal seasoned with pepper;"[143] but special carriers also accompanied the force, loaded with a surplus of food, with robes for tents, reeds for huts and bowers, and with cooking utensils like kettles, pans, baskets; also with mats.[144] Sometimes these

[140] It also happened that an interval of twenty days (a Mexican month) elapsed between the proclamation of war and the final departure. At least, in most cases, a few days were spent in preparations, since the Mexicans had to give time to their outside allies or subjects to prepare, also. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI): "The Mexicans in "the interval prepared the arms in all the quarters,—shields, swords, and made and "finished many rods ('tlatzontecti'), also slings, and pebbles to be thrown with "cords." (Id., Cap. LVII) "Within twenty days they prepared and fitted out all kinds "of arms, first in the five quarters of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan: Moyotlan, Teopan, Ytza-"cualco, Cuepopan, and Tlatilulco, now called Santiago." In many cases, however, an instantaneous mobilization of the whole force became necessary. Mexico, in times of peace, had to be always ready for war. See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[141] Canoes, "acalli" (water-houses, from "atl," water, and "calli," house), were used for the traffic with the main land, but also largely for the carrying of warriors. It is well known what important part they played against the Spaniards during the siege. For the movements of the Mexicans against a hostile tribe, both on land and water, see Durán (Cap. XIV, p. 121), wherein he describes the attack upon Caitlahuac, both by canoes and on dry land.

[142] Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369): "porque demas de lo que los reyes proueyan de sus "grandes trojes y graneros, cada soldado llevaua á questas su particular comida, "todo lo que podia llevar, atada á la carga el espada y la rodela, etc., etc."

[143] The women *prepared* the food, but it also occurred that the *stewards dispensed* it. Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 49): "With this the stewards and calpixques of the tribes "gave to their quarters maize for to make biscuit, tlacacintopochtli, pinole, ground "pepper, chian, beans, and all what pertained to it, providing themselves with every-"thing necessary for certain day stated." The "tlaxcaltotopochtli" (from "tlaxcalli," corn-bread, and "totopochtli," burnt-bread) would be biscuit of maize-meal, and it is therefore called "viscocho." The pinolli, or pinole, corn-meal mixed with pepper, was an important victual. The food of the Mexicans, in general, outside of the meats (exclusively fowl and some game) and aquatic animals, consisted of maize in various forms, and of pepper, "chilli," as seasoning. Cacao furnished their main beverage, and stores of it were taken along. See, also, Durán (Cap. XLVI, p. 369: "maiz tostado "y otro molido y hecho harina, frijol molido, pan biscochado, tamales mohosos y cura-"dos al sol, grandes fardos de chile, cacao molido hecho en pellas"). They also used maize to compose a beverage called "yolatli," which possessed particularly vivifying qualities (See note of Sr. Ramirez to p. 220 of Durán), and which they dispensed even on the battlefield (Durán, Cap. XXXVII; Tezozomoc, Cap. LII).

[144] These carriers are called "tamemes," and are generally regarded as having been slaves. But they probably were outcasts from the bond of kinship, or the men of newly conquered tribes (like Tlatilulco for a time after its capture), upon whom this degrading work (*because women-like!!*) was imposed as a penalty. Slaves were not nu-

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726 carriers were burthened with a surplus of arms, and even with or-
724 naments, designed to reward deeds of high valor on the battlefield itself. This "train" (if we may use the expression) was under the command of stewards, who accompanied the force for that purpose.[145] The Mexicans having no domestic animals besides small
[231] dogs and fowls, it necessarily followed that their supplies and stores taken along by carriers were limited, and that consequently their expeditions could never be of long duration, partaking more of the character of forays or "raids" than of regular campaigns. As long as they moved among friendly tribes they expected these to furnish victuals; further on they relied upon what the enemy's country might possibly afford.

726 But the Mexicans, since their position in the middle of the la-
[48] gune had been secured, and after they had once gained a foothold on its shores by overpowering successively some of the tribes scattered along the mainland, not any longer ventured out alone on their marauding expeditions. They required of those whom they conquered to join them in arms at their bidding.[146] What the exact relations were, which existed between the Mexicans and the other tribes of the valley, especially those of Tezcuco and Tlaco-

Slaves were not nu-
[567] merous among the Mexicans, if there were any at all beyond the prisoners of war. The latter they could not use for such a purpose. Some of the young people often accompanied the warriors, carrying their weapons and supplies, that they might see and learn (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXI, p. 121). But the numbers of these carriers (100,000) are greatly exaggerated. Among the various objects mentioned by Tezozomoc as carried along by the Mexicans in their campaigns, there are "tents, low huts, reeds for the tents." "Tent," in Mexican, signifies "Quachcalli," from "Quachtli," mantle, and "calli," house. Huts, "xacalli," of straw, or bowers; they certainly used, and the step is not very great, from the hut to the tent covered with what we call among northern Indians a "blanket." Durán mentions both tents and huts, "tiendas y xacales," frequently (Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 186; cap. XXII, p. 190, etc.). The cooking utensils, like pans and kettles, had to go along, of course. Mats, "petlatl," for couches, and probably, also, for the covering of huts, were equally requisite and even indispensable. Lastly, mantles of "nequen" (Sisal hemp, "Jeanequin"). This was the most ordinary
[291] material composing the dress of Mexicans. The "huepil" of the ordinary Mexican was made out of "nequen." These mantles were used for protection against the sun; they were light and therefore convenient to wear and to have carried (See Tezozomoc, Cap. XXXII, pp. 49 and 50).

[145] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 50): "Y los mayordomos personalmente fueron á "esta jornada" (against Orizava).

[146] Those tribes which had been made subjects to Mexico were compelled, whenever called upon, to join the armed forces of the Mexicans. Tezozomoc seldom speaks of any foray without mentioning that the subjected tribes took part in it, on the summons of the Mexicans to that effect. See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 133); Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXI, p. 49; cap. XLVII, p. 77; cap. LI, p. 83). There is hardly any direct testimony, but the fact is abundantly proves that the Mexicans could call out, and did call out, to their assistance, any tribe which they had previously conquered. See Durán (Cap. XI. p. 313); and Zurita "Rapport, etc." p. 11.

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pan, we shall not attempt to discuss here, reserving it for a future opportunity;[147] it is sufficient to establish that all those tribes, whether regarded by history, as it now appears, as confederated or allied to the Mexicans, or as their subjects, *were at any rate under the military supremacy of Mexico*.[148] Whenever, therefore, from any cause whatever, the Mexican chief-council agreed upon war, delegates were sent to all tribes connected with Mexico,[149] calling upon them to send their forces, with supplies and ammunition, to a certain place where the Mexicans would meet them, and whence all together would proceed, under Mexican command, on the foray determined upon by the tribe of the lake-centre.[150]

Such notifications were never disregarded by the valley-pueblos,[151] still less by those of different stock-languages outside of the valley, and held by the Mexicans as tributary subjects.[152] The force,

[147] It is not to our purpose to determine here whether a league or confederacy existed between Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, or whether the latter two tribes were subjects of the former. There is a great deal of contradiction among the authors on the subject, and we intend, if possible, to make it the subject of a future discussion.

[148] Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 131): "Con Mexico estaban confederados "los Señores de Tezcuco, i Tlacopan, que hora llaman Tacuba, i partian lo que gana- "ban, i obedecian al Señor de Mexico, en lo tocante à la guerra." This is also confirmed by the fact that, when Cortés moved towards Mexico from the coast, he was everywhere told of the great power of the *Mexicans only*, without any reference to the others. On a joint expedition or foray, the Mexican chief commanded the others, even if he was inferior in rank to the "Tlacatecuhtli." (Zurita, p. 11).

[149] This fact is so numerously mentioned by Tezozomoc, that we forbear encumbering with detailed quotations. Almost every other chapter of the Cronica Mexicana, after the 20th about, has a reference to it. Also Durán.

[150] When the Mexicans sallied forth on their unlucky expedition against Mechoacan, in 1479, all the tribes were directed to meet at "Matlatzinco-Toluca" (Tezozomoc, cap. LI, p. 92). Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 266). Axayacatl: "mandó partiese el exercito de "la ciudad y que en sus capitanias fuesen à los términos de los Matlatzincas, y que allí "se hiciese junta de la gente entre estos terminos de Matlatzinco y Tlaximaloyan." On the foray against "Xiquipilco y Xilotepec,"—Chilocan was appointed meeting-place,—"commenced to move the Mexicans, all the others having set out already two or three "days before, for the same place of Chilocan" (Tezozomoc, cap. LXI, p. 102). Durán, speaking of the foray against Mextitlan (Cap. XL, p. 313): "El rey, que mientras le tu- "raua la uncion y estar velando salvo sus insinias y en ayuno y penitencia, que toda la "gente que estuviese aperceuida y aparejada se recogiesse en Atotonilco, y que allí "aguardassen todos al demas exercito y en Itzmiquilpan."

[151] There is not a single instance on record that, up to the time the Spaniards arrived, any pueblo had ever ventured to refuse such assistance to the Mexicans. Only when Cortés moved upon Mexico for the second time, did such acts of open rebellion occur.

[152] Some difference existed between the relations of the Mexicans with *kindred* tribes speaking the same ("Nahuatl") language, and with those of other stock. Thus, the "Totonaca" of the coast were held in great subjection, while the Chalca of the valley were treated almost like allies. It is not impossible that the so-called empire of Mexico (or of Anahuac, as it is very erroneously called) may yet prove to have been but a confederacy of the Nahuatlac-tribes of the valley, with the Mexicans as military leaders.

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therefore, that sallied out of Mexico was sure to find at the meeting-place appointed, numerous reinforcements from various tribes, fully armed and equipped, with an organization similar to their own,[153] ready for the onward march, at the end of which, if successful, a certain share of human victims and of plunder would reward their efforts.[154]

As soon as the entire force was duly collected at the appointed meeting-place, it began to move forward speedily and swiftly, and in a straight line, if possible, towards the enemy's country. The various tribes, as well as their respective subdivisions, kept distinct from each other, led by their own native chiefs. The Mexicans were mostly in the rear. The approach of this body of warriors was not always pleasant to tributary or friendly settlements situated along the marchroute. These were expected to come out with reinforcements, with food and presents, and if any one of them failed or neglected to comply with these requisitions, it became exposed to the most barbarous violence. Such pueblos were sacked, plundered, the people ill-treated. In their fury the Mexicans sometimes went so far as to empty and destroy the stores of maize, and to kill wantonly the few domestic animals (dogs and fowls) of the unfortunate inhabitants.[155]

[724] The tribute which the valley pueblos paid to Mexico may yet, perhaps, prove to have been more a religious offering than anything else. They were certainly more on terms of equality, whereas the foreign tribes were held in subjection proper. The word "popoluca," stammerers, applied by the Mexicans to those of the coast, and which has induced Clavigero to adopt the erroneous idea of a "Popoluca" language, shows the disdain and hatred nourished by tribes of different stock towards each other.

[153] Each tribe had to prepare its own arms and supplies, it remained under its own chiefs and captains. Tezozomoc and Durán both agree on this point. Their organization was essentially the same as that of the Mexicans. Everywhere in the valley, and even in Matlaltzinco, we find the characteristic division of the Mexicans,—the two head-war-chiefs, the four quarters, and the minor captains and braves.

[154] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimeques," Cap. XXXVIII, p. 273) says that Mexico and Tezcuco had each two-fifths, Tlacopan one-fifth, of the spoils. Tezozomoc claims three-fourths for Mexico alone. The point is yet in doubt. (Zurita, "Rapport, etc.," p. 18.)

[724] [155] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXII, p. 80): "The Mexicans never lacked food nor supplies," when on the march, since they "were so much feared by all the tribes, that as soon as "they arrived they were well received and treated. When their forces were on the "war-path neither man nor woman remained outside of their dwellings, out of fear of "the warriors, and if these perchance met any one, any laborer or trader, they robbed "him even up to his very clothes. Such tribes as did not go out to meet them they plundered and robbed of everything, emptying their stores of maize, killing their fowls "and even their dogs." (Id. Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147.) Durán (Cap. XXI, p. 183): "porque "para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proveian de todo lo necesario, como tengo "dicho, so pena de ser destruidos." It thus appears that for the march the Mexicans did not have to provide any food, since the settlements along the route had to maintain

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The objective point of this march was, as we have already 726
stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line [131]
dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaotlalli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the [724]
supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fué en seguimiento "de la gente; lo qual no se proueia sino para el lugar donde se avia de asentar el real, "porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades prouian de todo lo necessario, etc., "etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 184): "Hacianse seruir como dioses, y en "todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra, "todos se encerraban que no osauan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les "quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleauan "y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora "nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano. . . . . y asi en sabiendo que auia "guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde auian de pasar los del exercito, se "escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian "quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Nahuatl tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtiali the space and "area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight "there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Hüexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 125) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 538: "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian "los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular, "que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Yauhtlalli, que quiere decir; Ter-"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los "contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 442).

[158] From "yaotl," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tlalli," ground or soil.

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726 erected, each tribe camping distinct from the other, the Mexicans occupying the centre of the entire camp.[159]

It was customary with the Mexicans to send out spies who, under different disguises, penetrated the hostile country ere the force had reached its neighborhood.[160] Besides, as soon as the latter halted on the "war-ground," numerous braves ventured out in advance, as scouts, stealthily creeping through the woods, as near the enemy as possible, to ascertain its position and numbers, as well as armament. The information gathered from these sources was reported during the night to the Mexican chieftain in command, who sat in council of war with the other principal leaders. This meeting, guided partly by the information thus obtained, devised the plan of attack for the coming day. The tactics of the 725 Mexicans were extremely simple: a decoy, in the shape of a precipitate retreat, and an ambush at the termination of it, seem to have been their highest conception. Therefore, during the night, they often dug pits far in advance of the encampment, wherein, at the close of the council, the most daring braves (and even the Mexican commander himself, occasionally) concealed themselves, their bodies covered with straw, branches, or foliage.[161] Meanwhile the warriors were overhauling their arms, painting them-

[159] Duran (Cap. XIX, p. 168): "Asi se partio' el exercito de Tulancingo y caminó "hasta llegar á vista de los enemigos, donde empeçaron a' hacer tiendas y xacales, "cada provincia y nacion para si." (Idem, Cap. XXI, pp. 183 and 184; cap. XXII, p. 190; cap. XXXVII, p. 288; "donde a' tercer dia se juntaron todos los soldados y gente de "guerra con toda la priesa posible y mandaron asentar el real, el qual asentaron con "muchas tiendas y casas de esteras, quellos usauan en sus guerras y oy en dia las usan "en los mercados, que son unos tendejones de juncos que echan las espadañas.") Tezozomoc (Cap. LI, p. 83; cap. LXXVIII, p. 125). This author contains so many details on this subject that we forbear quoting him further with reference to chapter and page. He distinctly says that each tribe camped by itself, the Mexicans in the middle.

[160] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130): "enviaban delante sus espias muy disimuladas y plàticas en las lenguas de la provincia a' do iban a' dar guerra." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 538) copies almost textually.

725 [161] Tezozomoc mentions this very frequently. (Cap. XLVIII, he relates how the chief Axayaca hid himself in such a pit, in the foray against the Matlaltzinca. This is confirmed by Durán, Cap. XXXV, p. 277: "Y quedandóse la celada el rey, metidos en"tre las ramas y otros debaxo de la tierra escondidos todos los soldados viejos y princi"pales valerosos.") He also mentions (Cap. XIX, pp. 169 and 170) a very extensive ambush of that kind against the Huaxtecas. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 131): "They used ambushes, and often very artificial ones, since they laid down on the "ground, covering themselves with straw or herbs, etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 539) agrees almost literally with the above. Also Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV): "They used ambushes frequently, and concealed themselves in bushy places, "or even in pits made for that purpose, as the Spaniards often experienced it. Fre"quently they took to flight in order to draw the enemy into dangerous positions, or to "assail his rear with fresh troops." We shall revert to this point hereafter.

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selves afresh, and the captains attended to their respective detach- 726
ments, exhorting the men to courage and endurance. Each tribe agreed upon its particular war-cry, to be used in action only. Finally, the whole encampment sometimes joined in an awful yell: the defiant war-whoop of thousands of Indians, and intended to mark, not their presence (which they supposed to be known), but their numbers and ferocity. This shout not unfrequently called forth a response from the enemy lurking in front of them.[162] Then the stillness of the night, of the gloomy and treacherous night preceding an Indian engagement, settled at last upon the "land of war."

This quietness did not last very long. Even if neither of the opposing parties attempted to surprise the other under cover of darkness, both were certainly alert before daybreak.[163] The Mexican force, preceded by a cloud of scattered braves as skirmishers or scouts, advanced cautiously, not in one solid body, but by tribes and subdivisions of tribes, as upon the march. Very soon their extreme outposts encountered those of the enemy, the war-whoop was raised on both sides, and a series of personal combats engaged along the whole line. Pebbles, carried along for that purpose, were hurled by means of the sling; stones picked up from the field were thrown at each other, accompanied by hideous yells and defiant epithets. Then followed darts and arrows, both parties dancing about to avoid the missiles. Meanwhile accessions from the main bodies moved up, the fight came to closer quarters, the sword and club being resorted to. If the enemy was sufficiently strong so as not to give way at once, the Mexicans feigned to retreat, rushing back towards the place where an ambush had been prepared. The pursuing foe, once caught in the trap, was roughly handled, their adversaries pressing upon them from all sides, and his efforts to disentangle himself were always accompanied with the heaviest loss, either in prisoners or in killed. At other points of the line similar snares were extended to the Mexicans by their opponents. Thus the fight progressed like an extensive skirmish, each party bent upon weakening the other by partial losses through rude stratagems, until the enemy, reduced in numbers and dis-

[162] The war-whoop ("alarido," or "la grita," as the Spanish authors call it) is distinct from the war-cry, the latter serving to identify the warriors of the same tribe or "quarter." The former is "tzatzilistli," the latter, "yaotzatzilistli."

[163] The usual time for such attacks was daybreak or dawn (Tezozomoc, Caps. LXXXIV, p. 148, and LXXXVIII, p. 185: "al amanecer del alva").

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heartened by the death or capture of many principal warriors, gave way in an unmistakable manner.[164] Then a precipitate

[164] Besides Tezozomoc, who is so full of details on these fights that it is wasting space to quote him extensively, we find the most concise and reliable statements in Mendieta's "Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana." The descriptions of Mendieta agree perfectly with those of Tezozomoc (less with those of Duran), while the two authors had nothing in common, besides, Mendieta, the revered Franciscan father, terminating his work about 1596, and Tezozomoc, the simple Indian, his MS. in 1598. Neither of these works were printed previous to this century. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI): "At "the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts. . . . . They also threw "stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went "in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition. "The archers from Tehuacan sometimes were so dexterous that they sped two or three "arrows at once with the same precision as one bowman would shoot one alone. Af- "ter the vanguard had spent a good deal of their munition they charged with sword "and dart, the sword being of wood, long, and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It "was tied to the wrist, in order that dropping it they might seize an enemy (as "their main object was to capture men alive) without losing the weapon. They had no "style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back "and forth. At first one party would turn to flee, as it seemed, the others pursuing, "killing and wounding and capturing all those lagging in the rear. Then the party "fleeing would suddenly turn back upon the pursuers, which fled in turn. Thus they "proceeded as in a tournament ('juego de cañas'), until they were tired, when fresh "bodies moved up to take up the fight. They had well disposed and agile people to "care for the wounded, bringing them to the rear where their surgeons were with the "medicines, healing and nursing them." See also, Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV), and the Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 374): "during the fight they shout "and sing, uttering sometimes the most horrid shrieks." (Mr. Prescott speaks of hospitals which "were established in the principal cities." This is doubtful, at least.) The most detailed account of such an engagement is found in Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 84), confirmed in the main by Durán (Cap. XXXVII, pp. 289 and 290), where he describes the disastrous fight of the Mexicans (1479) against the Tarasca of Michhuacan. It appears from the description of the former that during this bloody conflict, lasting a whole day, the different tribes moved up in succession and distinct from each other. There is but one instance of a higher tactical move, and this is found in Tezozomoc also (Cap. XCVIII, p. 93). When the Mexicans sallied against Tlaxcallan: "the gen- "eral Cuauhnochtli commanded that the Chalca should go by one road or path, those "of Aculhuacan by another, the Tecpaneca by another, and the Mexicans in the centre "where the Tlaxcallans were expected to be; all the other tribes extended in order to "take the Tlaxcalteca in the middle" (surround them). Notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Clavigero, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl, those engagements turn out to be ordinary Indian skirmishes on a large scale, in proportion to numbers, of course, but still after the same principle. These same authors even indicate, involuntarily, that there were less actions of masses, than individual exploits. For instance, Torquemada relates (Lib. II, cap. LXI, p. 183) that the principal chief, dressing himself in the garb of a common warrior, challenged the prominent chieftain of the enemy to single combat and overcame him, which deed decided the fortunes of the day. Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. XLV) even tells us how a single Tezcucan brave alone fell upon the enemy while his own army was yet at breakfast, and put them all to flight. If such stories are true, they militate strongly against the impression which these same authors would convey to us, of formidable hosts, well organized, opposing each other. A commander, responsible for the fate of tens of thousands committed to his guidance, could not expose his own person in such a manner. Either these stories, or the representation of the numbers engaged, and their tactics, are untrue.

[159] "Surgeons" are mentioned both by Mendieta and Torquemada. The Mexican name of surgeon is "texoxotla ticiti" (Molina, I, p. 35). "Texoxqui" means a sorcerer, and

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retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice*. (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Meztitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizocic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

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726 If the vanquished tribe found no such point of refuge, then the pursuit continued without relenting until the town or settlement itself was reached. Frequently both pursuers and pursued entered it almost at the same time. The torch was applied to the temple first, and an indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants began.[169]

728 Nothing short of speedy submission to tribute could arrest this butchery. The vanquished, therefore, if not prepared to flee from their homes forever,[170] made signals of peace. A parley ensued, and to it succeeded a surrender on the part of the defeated tribe. Generally one year of tribute was paid in advance, and thus the Mexicans might return homewards loaded, both with the spoils acquired on the battlefield and with the first guarantee of future contributions from the vanquished tribe.[171]

726 It sometimes occurred, however, that the tribe attacked had provided its settlement with artificial defenses, and the Mexicans, victorious in the open field, found themselves in presence of the simple fortifications, which we shall hereafter describe, like palisades or even platforms of earth or stone surmounted by parapets. An attack upon these was only attempted if there appeared no doubt as to the result, in consequence of the superiority of the Mexicans, or of the great losses sustained by their defenders in the previous fights.[172] Then, but only then, ladders were con-

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[169] The "teo-calli" or temple being in the centre of the settlement, and also its highest, and therefore, according to Indian notions, its strongest edifice, the destruction thereof by fire was the signal of decisive victory of the assailants. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XIX, pp. 30 and 31). Durán (Cap. XV, p. 129).

[170] In cases where the pueblo of the enemy had been completely deserted, either through flight of its inhabitants, or through their extermination, as was the case with Alahuitzlán, these sections were repeopled by colonies from Nahuatl stock. Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXIV, pp. 125 and 126) and Durán (Cap. XLV, p. 364, etc.) both relate in detail how it occurred. This may account in some degree for the presence of Nahuatlac stock at a distance from the valley, and may yet throw some light even upon the singular colonization of the Peruvian "Mitimaes."

[171] This suing for peace, where the tribe was of foreign stock-language, took place, sometimes through interpreters, "nahuatlata," sometimes merely by signs. The defeated generally fled to the top of a hill and from there beckoned to the pursuing Mexicans to stop the carnage, with humble and pitiful gestures. But the first parley did not always result in peace. The massacre of women and children recommenced often twice, ere the tribute offered by the vanquished satisfied the Mexicans. This tribute was exacted in proportion to the resistance offered and to the resources of the tribe. After peace was agreed upon the Mexicans still feasted from the food of those whom they had ruthlessly conquered. The prisoners, once taken, were never released nor exchanged. They had to carry the spoils and tribute to Mexico, but were generally well fed and cared for until the day when they were slaughtered to the idols.

[172] A good illustration is found in Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI), describing the foray against Tututepec and Quetzaltepec. But Durán is still more explicit on the same events. According to him (Cap. LVI, p. 547), after the unfortified pueblo of Tu-

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then, but only then, ladders were con-
structed,[173] and with due precaution and under cover of various [417]
feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the 726
question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[175]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occa- 726
sions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on- 727

tutepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[173] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro dia salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se ove "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir los de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re- "traer hacia el muro. Monteçuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibian "gran daño de las piedras grandes y troços de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[175] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholulan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.

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726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Ycpatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 207-213.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chávero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por- "que los naturales della eran amigos de Mutecçuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutecçuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 85): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi- "maroa, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo no llegava: al ivа adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arrows, but no close combats are mentioned.

[180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

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Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of, settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[161] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 460). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to these inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in these fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezcucomoc.

[161] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebelin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 286. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

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712 area of the settlement thus enclosed, forming a terrace or platform, or whether it merely constituted a *belt around it*. As principal means of *protection*, they resorted to *elevation*.[162]

The pueblo of "Quauhquechollan (now Huacachula, in the State of La Puebla), lying to the South-east of Mexico, and tributary to the Mexicans in 1520, was considered very strong, and Cortés has left us the following description of its natural as well as of its
A artificial defenses:—

712 "This town of Guacachula lies on a plane, protected on one
361 "side by a high and steep hilly range, and on two sides by two "rivers, distant from each other about two cross-bow shots. Both "rivers run in deep and precipitous gorges; there are, conse- "quently, but few places where an entrance could be effected, "and even these are of difficult access, steep of descent and of "ascent, on horseback. The place is surrounded by a strong "wall of line and stone, outside of the city as high as four fath- "oms, and almost level with the ground inside. A parapet one- "half fathom in height runs along the top of this wall. For to "sally there are four entrances wide enough for a horse-man to "pass through; at each entrance there are three or four folds of "the enclosure entering one into the other; on each fold of the "wall a corresponding breastwork. Along the entire enclosure
T "they have heaps of stones and pebbles, with which they fight."[163]

712 This idea of constructing the pueblos on a mountain declivity, so as to be compelled to artificially protect *but one or two sides alone*, we find in several instances. The place of Chamula in the present State of Chiapas, when attacked by the Spaniards under

[162] Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España." Trat. III. Cap. XVI. p. 229), speaking of Tlaxcallan: "Their reason for building in high places was that in "order to feel more safe during their frequent wars, they looked to high and open "places, where they might sleep with less anxiety, since they had neither doors nor "walled enclosures, although they had entrenchments and fortifications ('albarradas "y reparos') in some places, they being sure of war to occur every year." The Mexican name for tribe, or settlement, or pueblo, "altepetl," itself indicates an elevated object, the word "tepetl" signifying "mountain" or "hill."

[163] "Carta Segunda (Vedia I. p. 50); also, Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXXI. p. 165), and several others. Clavigero (Lib. IX. cap. XXVIII) says that the walls of Quauhquechollan were fully 20 feet high, 12 feet wide, and had a parapet of 3 feet in elevation. The fathom: "Estado," "Braza," or "toesa," is equal to 2 "varas," or to 6 Castilian feet. According to this the wall would have been about 6, 68–100 metres above the outer surface, or 22 feet, English. The text of Cortés reads: "tan alto como cuatro "estados por de fuera de la ciudad, e' *por de dentro esta' casi igual con el suelo.*" This would indicate that the "wall" was rather a *facing* of stone to a *large terrace*, upon which the pueblo itself had been erected.

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Diego Godoy, in 1524, was situated on a high and steep hill or ridge, surrounded by a gorge. The ascent was very difficult, and when the Spaniards had reached a certain height they met a palisade of timbers set crosswise into the ground, and tied together. Higher up there was a wall two fathoms high and four feet wide, of earth and stone, with some posts. In the most rugged corner there was a ladder leading upwards. The wall was surmounted by a guard of strong planking held between timbers set both within and without. Besides, vines of great thickness, and ropes, were fastened to the planks.[184]

In some cases, several tiers of enclosures or platforms, one above the other and surmounted by parapets, covered one side of a mountain-declivity. The dwellings of the people rested on the highest terrace, within the uppermost circumvallation, but huts or bowers sheltering the warriors were erected even on the outermost defenses. Such appears to have been the condition of Quetzaltepec,[185] before it was captured under the last Montezuma,

[184] Chamula, or "Chamhó," according to the late Mr. Brasseur ("Ruines de Palenqué," Cap. II, p. 33, Xote No. 19) is still the most populous place of the State of Chiapas, and lies about three leagues to the N. W. of San Cristobal. Its inhabitants speak the "Zotzil" language. They were never conquered, perhaps not even attacked, by the Mexicans. The description of its fortifications is from the "Relacion hecha por "Diego Godoy a' Hernando Cortés" (Vedia I, p. 466). Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI) and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. V, cap. VIII, p. 163) mention it also. We meet here with a plain description of earthen or stone embankments surmounted by *guards of wood*. This may throw some light on some of the circumvallations found in the United States, and ascribed to the "mound-builders." (A still more detailed description, of a similarly fortified place, is given by Cortés himself in his fifth letter. 3 Sept., 1526. (Vedia, I, p. 128). Compare "Hist. de la Conq. y Reduccion de los Itzaes." Lib. I, cap. VII, p. 41).

[185] For a description of Quetzaltepec ("Mountain of brilliant or changing green "hue") see Tezozomoc (Cap. XC, pp. 136 and 139), and especially Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 443): "porque Tototepec, demas de tener el rio grande por amparo, hiço hacer cinco "cercas las mas fuertes que pudo, todas de piedra y tierra muy apisonada y de maderas "grandes y de todo género de fagina. Acauadas estas cercas, que la que cercana el "pueblo era de seis braças en alto y de quatro en ancho, siendo los demas que se les "iban siguiendo de a' quatro y de cinco en alto, ..." Although Durán uses the expression "cerca" (enclosure), there is little doubt but that they were but *platforms*, surmounted by stone or wooden parapets. Tezozomoc (Cap. XC), while speaking of six works ("albarrada," or "paredon"), distinctly mentions that there were huts or houses on them ("Luego mandó poner fuego á la segunda albarrada, que tenian *encima* "mucha caseria de bohios. . . ." "El primer paredon era de cinco braças de ancho, "y de tres de altura, y mucha peña encima; la segunda, tercera y quarta al proprio "tenor, excepto la cesta que era de dos brazas de altura y de seis brazas de ancho, *muchos* "*bohios encima, xacales, y mucha gente*," p. 138). We are forcibly reminded here of the hill of Sacsa-huaman, at Cuzco, in Peru, whose defenses consist, according to the Hon. E. G. Squier: "of three lines of massive walls, each supporting a terrace and a parapet. "The walls are nearly parallel, and have approximately accurate entering and recentering angles for their total existing length of 1,800 feet. The first or outer wall has an "average present height of 27 feet; the second wall is 35 feet within it, and is 18 feet high;

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and it is not improbable that the celebrated "pyramid of Xochicalco" may yet prove to have been a fortified pueblo, analogous to or of the type just described.[186]

"the third is 18 feet within the second, and is, in its highest part, 14 feet in elevation. The "total elevation of the works is therefore 50 feet." According to the descriptions of Tezozomoc and Durán the fortifications of Quetzaltepec were very similar to, only perhaps more extensive, even, than those of the Inca strongholds at Cuzco. In the art of fortification, however, the Incas of Peru were far in advance of the other American aborigines. Nowhere else, on this continent, do we find anything near alike to Ollantay-tambo, Pisac, or Piquillacta. Mexican fortified pueblos were probably analogous to the "pucara" or strongholds of the Aymara Indians on the Bolivian high-plateau. (See E. G. Squier: "Peru, Incid. of Travel and Explor. in the land of the Incas," New York, 1877.)

[186] "Xochicalco," the "place of the house of flowers" ("xochitl," flower, — "calli," house), is situated near Temisco, S. E. of Cuernavaca (the ancient "Quauhnahuac"), in the State of Mexico proper. The pyramid was probably first described by Don Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, Mexico, 1791. "Descripcion de las Antiquidades de "Xochicalco." Robertson (Note XXXIX, to p. 139, of vol. III) describes a pyramid: "a "temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco." The most complete descriptions, however, are those of Pietro Marquez ("Due antichi monumenti di architettura Messicana," Roma, 1804); of Baron A. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères "et Monuments des peuples indigénes de l'Amérique," pp. 129 to 137 of the Edition 8vo "of 1816, vol. I, and plate No. IX of the Atlas in folio); of Nebel; of E. Tylor ("Anahuac"), and of Brantz-Mayer ("Mexico as it was and as it is," 3d Edition, 1847). Lord Kingsborough has of course furnished splendid illustrations of the monument, in vol. IV of the "Antiquities of Mexico," and a description by Capt. Dupaix, in vol. VI, p. 430. Also has Mr. H. H. Bancroft, with the usual faithfulness to his sources, characteristic of this eminent compilator. We quote from Brantz-Mayer (p. 178): "From this eminence the guide . . . . pointed out to me a small mountain, at the "extremity of the plain in front, on which was situated the Pyramid of Xochicalco, "the subject of our day's explorations. The *cerro* appears to rise directly out of the "levels between two mountains, and the plain continuing to its very foot, might seemingly be traversed in half an hour." But this intervening space was cut up by deep gullies (barrancas), making the trip to the hill very tedious, difficult, and lengthy. The author's general description of the eminence is as follows (pp. 180 and 181): "At the "distance of six leagues from the city of Cuernevaca, lies a cerro, three hundred feet "in height, which, with the ruins that crown it, is known by the name of Xochicalco, "or 'the Hill of Flowers.' The base of this eminence is surrounded by the very distinct remains of a deep and wide ditch; its summit is attained by five spiral terraces; "the walls that support them are built of stone, joined by cement, and are still quite "perfect; and, at regular distances, as if to buttress these terraces, there are remains "of bulwarks shaped like the bastions of a fortification. The summit of the hill is a "wide esplanade, on the eastern side of which are still perceptible three truncated "cones, resembling the tumuli found among many similar ruins in Mexico. On the "other sides there are also large heaps of stones of irregular shape, which seem to "have formed portions of similar mounds or tumuli, or, perhaps, parts of fortifications "in connection with the wall that is alleged by the old writers to have surrounded the "base of the pyramid, but of which I could discern no traces." On the top of this esplanade there seems to have been an edifice of five terraces (as Alzate relates) or stories, but only the lowest one is yet in existence. Nebel has given an ideal reconstruction of this building ("Viaje pintoresco y arqueologico a' la Republica de Mexico"), also Alzate. Closing his investigation of the ornaments and sculptures still visible in the ruins of the summit, Brantz-Mayer remarks: "The day was far advanced when I "stood for the last time on the corner-stone of the upper terrace and looked at the "beautiful prospect around me. It was the centre of a mighty plain. Running due "north were the remains of an ancient paved road, leading over prairie and barranca

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But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quauhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 mètres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 46 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1825.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui défend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels désignent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut à-celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les maisons des dieux astèques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anáhuac," Cap. VII, p. 188), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quauhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "tpocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467): "This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbé is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into the lagune, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas ter- "ras tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur- 712 [173]

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361 But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were open places, without circumvallations or enclosures,[187] constructed after the plan which we have already exposed,[188] and without any other strongholds than their massive communal dwellings, and the 361 pyramidal temple, or "teo-calli."[189] On the flat roofs of the former 712 heaps of stones could be collected and hurled down upon the enemy from behind a guard of planks or adobe running along the edge of the roof.[190] The truncated pyramid, on its graded ascent, afforded room for a number of combatants.[191] Both gave the re-

[712] ther on he says: "Como se va adelgazando el cerro hasta la cremka," and "Zuazo" makes the very characteristic reply: "Asi viuo bien para que se pudiera ver todo lo "que esta' abajo." (As a military position would indeed require.) In the Introduction to this Dialogue (p. 256), the learned Mexican scholar remarks: "Parece que estas al-"barradas o' escalones se conservaron hasta despues de la conquista, y que los emper-"adores Aztecas los habian llenado de tierra, convirtiéndoles en jardines, por no tener "ya objeto como obras de fortificacion."

[187] The letter written by "Fray Francisco de Bologna," from Mexico, to the provincial of Bologna, published in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil "de pièces, etc.") says: "Généralement leurs villes n'étaient pas fermées, mais les es-"pagnols leur ont appris à les entourer de murailles" (p. 212). The Mexican toongue distinguishes "altepetl," a pueblo (or tribe), from "tename-altepetl," a pueblo surrounded by a wall ("tenamitl" "muro," walled enclosure). The Quiche-language of Guatemala has adopted the Nahuatl word "tenamitl," changing it into "tinamit," to signify a tribe or place.

[188] Motolinia ("Hist. de los Ind. de N. España," "Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, trat. I, cap. XII, pp. 62-65.

[189] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 229. Id. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXVI).

[190] When the Spaniards entered Cholula they soon found out, according to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 20) and Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. LXIII, p. 75), "that "the roofs were covered with pebbles and lined with guards of adobe." The Tlaxcal-lans had previously warned Cortés about Cholula, saying (p. 19 "Carta Segunda,"): "y "que tenian muchas de la calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas pie-"dras, para que despues que entrásemos en la ciudad tomarnos seguramente y aprove-"charse de nosotros á su voluntad." They also warned him about Mexico, saying: "that all the roofs were flat, with guards like breastworks, so that they might fight "from the house-tops" (Bernal-Diez, cap. LXXVIII). During the street fights previous to the retreat of Cortés on July 1st, 1520, and also during the gradual capture of Mex-ico, the Mexicans fought desperately from the roofs, hurling stones, rocks and pebbles upon the assailants. See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, pp. 41, 43 and 43; "Carta "Tercera, pp. 74, 76, 84, 86). Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CXXVI, pp. 130, 131; cap. CLI, p. 183). I refrain from quoting later writers, who copied mostly from the eye-witnesses' reports, and merely add the words of Fray Toribio de Paredes (Motolinia), in his History, written about 1540. ("Coll. de Doc.," I, trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187 "Estaba "Mexico muy fuerte y bien ordenada, ... Tenia por fortaleza los templos del "demonio y las casas de Motenczoma, señor principal, y las de los otros señores."

[191] Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 42): "Y en la torre muy alta y mas principal della se "subieron fasta quinientos Indios, qué segun me parécio, eran personas muy princi-"pales. Y en ella subieron mucho mantenimiento de pan y agua y otras cosas de comer-"y muchas piedras; é todos los mas tenian lanças muy largas con unos hierros de pe-"dernal mas anchos que las de las nuestras, y no ménos agudos; é de allí hacian mucho "daño a' la gente de la fortaleza, porque estaba muy cerca della. La cual dicha torre "combatieron los españoles dos a' tres veces y la acometieron a' subir; y como era muy "alta y tenia la subida agra, porque tiene ciento y tantos escalones; y los de arriba es-

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source of fighting *under shelter from above*, while the assailant had to struggle *unprotected from below*. As against an *Indian* foe, these massive constructions were *indeed strongholds*, and even, as we shall hereafter see, they opposed strong obstacles to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, as often as it was possible, the aborigines added to the defensive means of their architecture the resource of a *strong natural position*, and *those* tribes proved to be most *powerful* and *aggressive*, whose *defensive* position was either naturally or artificially, or in both respects, *the least vulnerable*.[192]

We have already mentioned the pueblo of Mexico as one of the strongest positions ever occupied by Indians up to the sixteenth century. Still, it was an open place, without circumvallations or

"taban bien pertrechados de piedra y otras armas, ..." Bernal-Diez (Vedia II. cap. CXXVI, p. 131). The latter, in the very "likely" style of the "Historia Verdadera" (?) mentions 4,000 men as having occupied "*one* teocalli." Cortés is more modest and certainly nearer the truth. See, also, Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187. "Tenia por fortaleza los templos del demonio"). When the Mexicans conquered Tlatilulco, the principal stronghold of the Tlatilulcans was their *temple*. See Tezozomoc (Cap. XLV, p. 74). Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 268): "el rey subió a' lo alto del templo con "otros caualleros suyos aunque con mucho trabajo por la mucha resistencia que hallió"). We again refer to what has already been stated: that the temple being the highest, and therefore strongest, part of the pueblo, its capture or destruction was the signal of victory.

[192] The tribes of Chiapas were much feared on account of their ferocity, and of their naturally and artificially strong places. Compare Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLXVI, p. 223, "porque ciertamente eran en aquel tiempo los mayores guerreros que yo habia visto "en toda la Nueva-España"). Cachula, Chiapas, and Chamula, were all naturally and by art well fortified. We have already alluded to Atitlan, in Guatimala (Report of Alvarado, Vedia I, p. 460. Bernal-Diez, Vedia II, cap. CLXIV, p. 221: "y que eran "muy malos y de malas condiciones"). Tlaxcalian itself enjoyed a very strong defensive position, although the place was open and not enclosed. Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. XVI, p. 220: "El señor mas antiguo y que primero lo fundó, edificó en un cerro-"jon alto, que se llama Tepeticpac, que quiere decir encima de tierra"). Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18: "porque es muy mayor que Granada y muy mas fuerte"). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XII, p. 363). Gomara ("De Tlaxcallan," Vedia I, p. 223), etc., etc. Utlatlan, or rather "Gumarcaah," the QQuiché pueblo of Guatemala, of which Fuentes especially has made the capital of a vast "empire of Quiché," was a very strongly situated place. (See Stevens' "Travels in Central America, Yucatan, and Chiapas.") The village of Santa Cruz del QQuiche now stands in the vicinity. Alvarado, its conqueror, reports (Vedia I, p. 456): "as the city is most remarkably strong, and has not more "than two entrances, one by thirty and some, high steps of stone, and the other by a "dyke made by hand." The Abbé Brasseur describes it as follows ("Popol-Vuh," cap. IX, pp. 312 and 313, foot-note): "Utatlan or Gumarcaah was composed of three distinct "plateaux, surrounded by ravines communicating however by paths (or roads) flanked "by cut stones . . . . There was but one entrance to this great town, the same "by which it is now reached. (The QQuiché text says: "where the town with its ra-"vines was built of stone and lime and covered with cement.") Thus we have the principal pueblos of Middle America all established in strong defensive places, for Mexico, as we have already said, was perhaps the least vulnerable of all, and also the one which occupied the most prominent position.

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walled enclosures.[193] But it was surrounded by *water* on all sides. This was a *natural* protection, *apparently*. However, the lake around Mexico was the work of the Mexicans themselves, and deserves, as such, to be regarded as an evidence of no ordinary skill on their part. When they fled into the space subsequently transformed into a lagune, it was an extensive swamp, covered with canebrake. Many parts of it could be waded through with ease, at some places the streams emptying into it from the West filtered through the deeper channels into Lake Tezcuco. Flakes of turf or of sand occasionally protruded over the surface, and on one of these dry spots the Mexicans huddled together for existence.[194] Unmolested on account of their extreme weakness, they could extend this area of dry soil by additions of sod, by scanty artificial foundations of turf thrown into the shallow morass and, erecting upon it their frail dwellings, they lived in poverty until they found out the great advantage which this isolated position gave to them over the surrounding tribes. They realized that, while *they* might sally forth with impunity, having a safe retreat behind them, an attack upon *their* position was both difficult and dangerous for the assailant. Once *their* first attempt crowned with success they continued and, valuing their situation as the main element of strength, they improved the foothold on the mainland by compelling subjected tribes to build for them a causeway, running from the outlet of Lake Xochimilco northward, to the pueblo of Mexico.[195] This dyke, while it insured communication with the mainland, penned up the waters flowing into the swamp from the west-side, and *accumulated* them there.[196] On

[193] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 187). When the Tlaxcallans represented to Cortés the dangers to which he exposed himself by going to Mexico, they did not mention fortifications (Bernal-Diez, LXXVIII, p. 70), but simply how the place was surrounded by water, the strength of the houses, and their difficult access.

[194] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 5). Durán ("Hist. de las Indias de Nueva España," Cap. IV, pp. 36 and 37) is very explicit: "y pasados por la otra parte del rio (the outlet of "Lake Xochimilco) metieronse en los carrizales y tulares de la laguna." "Desde lugar-"vinieron buscando y mirando si allarian algun lugar que fuese abomodado para po-"der hacer asiento, y andando desta manera por unas partes y otras entre las espa-"dañas y carrizales, allaron un ojo de agua hermosissimo." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X and cap. XI, p. 93).

[195] Durán (Cap. XII, p. 112): "pues vuelto a' los de Xochimilco les mandó que luego, "sin mas tardar, mandasen a' todos los de la ciudad hiciesen una calçada de tres bra-"ças en ancho desde su pueblo hasta la ciudad de Mexico, de piedra y tierra, cegas-"en el agua quel termino desta calçada tomase, y hiciesen sus puentes á trechos para "que el agua tuviese por donde salir de una parte a' otra." (Also, Cap. XIII, p. 113.)

[196] We must remember that the level of the "plaza mayor" of Mexico was, towards the beginning of this century, but one "vara" (of three Castilian feet), one foot and

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the other hand, the fresh water emptying out of Lake Xochimilco was thrown to the east side of the dyke into Lake Tezcuco. By this simple contrivance the Mexicans surrounded their pueblo with a huge pond on all sides, isolating, or rather *fortifying* it beyond all conceivable means of Indian assault.[197] *The causeways leading to Mexico were, therefore, military constructions.*[198] Subsequently the dyke was continued to the north until where Guadalupe Hidalgo now stands (anciently Tepeyacac), thus closing up the western basin completely, and another causeway, running east and west was constructed to Tacuba. From the southern dyke a branch ran to Cuyuacan, starting at Xoloc and extending to the southwest. In order to insure free circulation of the waters, sluices were cut, which interrupted the causeways at several places. Wooden bridges, easily removable, were laid across these ditches. Thus Mexico needed no outer fortifications nor walled enclosures.[199]

one inch higher than the level of Lake Tezcuco. This elevation was purely artificial (Humboldt, "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," Paris, 1827. Vol. II, pp. 96, 97 and 98). After the causeways running north and south had been constructed, the waters emptying into the swamp from the west side could not any longer run freely into the salt-water basin of Tezcuco. They were actually kept around the pueblo, and the swamp thus changed into a lagune. That those sources were powerful enough for such a purpose is amply shown by the great inundation which their careless opening occasioned under Ahuitzotl, in 1498 ("Essai politique," Vol. II, p. 101), of which the old authors bear ample testimony. (Durán, Cap. XLVIII and XLIX.) (Tezozomoc, Cap. LXXX.) (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. LXVI.) (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXVII, pp. 198 and 193.)

[197] The levels of Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco are 1 vara 11 inches higher than the "plaza mayor" of Mexico. Their outlet is to the northwest, between Churubusco and Iztapalapan. Previously, when Mexico was surrounded by water, this outlet was between Mexicalzinco and Churubusco (then called "Huitzilopocheo"). At Churubusco the great causeway began, and the waters emptying out of Lake Xochimilco flowed along its right hand side into Lake Tezcuco. The causeways thus increased the effects of natural drainage upon the central basin. It was certainly a very primitive but very effective work on the part of the Mexicans. We find a parallel to it, at a comparatively recent date, in Bolivia. When Andrés Tupac Amaru, the son of the unfortunate José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was blockading Sorata, in 1783, he could not, without artillery, hope to succeed against the well fortified town. Therefore, by a system of circumvallation, he enclosed the town with the waters of the Sierra, which finally destroyed the earthworks, leaving the entrance free to the infuriated Indians. 22,000 whites perished in the massacre ensuing.

[198] It is to the Hon. L. H. Morgan that we owe the first intimation in regard to the true character and purpose of these causeways. They were not merely for the purpose of insuring communication with the mainland, but especially for the defence of Mexico. Without them the area extending between the pueblo and the western shore would, at best, have remained a swamp, or would have become, as it now is, dry land. In both cases the defensive power of the Mexicans was at an end, and the course of events in Mexico would have turned quite differently.

[199] Mention is made of a fortification of some kind at "Xoloc," where the branch dyke from Cuyuacan joined the main causeway. (This must have been in the neighborhood of San Antonio.)

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An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops, and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, advancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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tés against Tlaxcallan, and the celebrated fight near Otumpan, both of which have been so beautifully described by Mr. Prescott. Although in the engagements against the Tlaxcallans the Mexicans proper were not concerned, we know that both tribes were so nearly alike in military resources and faculties, that we can easily substitute the one for the other, taking the action of the one as illustrative of the action of the other in a similar emergency. At Otumpan Mexicans and allied tribes opposed the Spaniards. Both examples will more particularly relate to *offensive* warfare, being combats in the open field.

Purposely we have used the term of "*campaign*" as connected with Tlaxcallan, avoiding the conception of "battles," or "great "battles" even, so liberally employed by the majority of authors. It is erroneous to admit that *regular battles* were ever fought during the time Cortés advanced against the pueblo of Tlaxcallan. As far as we can rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, they merely prove that the Tlaxcallans allured, so to say, by the numerical inferiority of the Spanish invaders, pounced upon them with all the fury of a wild horde and, being saluted by a well nourished fire of murderous effect, they returned to their primitive warfare of decoys, ambushes, and surprises, hoping to tire out the Spaniards through this constant and desultory skirmishing. The tactics of Cortés, on this occasion, were simply to hold out in defensible positions; a task of no small difficulty if we consider that his men during many days could obtain no rest, and scarcely any food. But by persevering in this attitude he "turned the tables" upon the Indians of Tlaxcallan by finally tiring out, and wearing out, their power of *aggression*. Then *he* took the *offensive*, and by successful dashes, both revictualled his people and brought the enemy to favorable terms.[203]

[203] The descriptions furnished by various authors of the 16th century, of this campaign against Tlaxcallan are most contradictory. Ixtlilxochitl says in his 13th Relation ("De la venida de los Españoles") that from Cempoalan to Tlaxcallan "the natives "received them with the greatest joy, feasted them, and there were neither fights nor "quarrels, beyond those which the Spaniards themselves provoked; *if there were any at all.*" In the "Histoire des Chichimèques," however, the same author speaks of an action of two days, in which he estimates the numbers of the Tlaxcallans at 150,000 men (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 189).—Tezozomoc (Cap. CX, p. 196) relates that the Otomies of Tecoac met together and spoke: "are we perhaps the vassals of those that have come? "did they overcome us in just war? come on, Chichimecas, to arms against them!—and "so, as like mountaineers, they forthwith armed themselves, and as they came shouting "and hurling darts, the camp armed also, and gave them a discharge of small arms "and fieldpieces, so that after an hour nothing more was left to do, the entire field "being covered with dead bodies." This agrees almost verbally with Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. X, p. 422).

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175 much the character of a regular battle as that of the 8th of July, 1520, and commonly named the battle of Otumpan. It was, however, but a "running fight," lasting a whole day or nearly. The Spaniards, without fire-arms, almost famished, reduced in numbers, and mostly all wounded, were pursued as soon as they left the pue-

Cortés ("Carta Segunda" Vedia I, p. 16 and 17) gives a clearer description from which we glean the following facts: On entering the Tlaxcallan grounds, the van-guard of the Spaniards fell into an ambush, which they soon forced. "E desque sintiéron que "los nuestros se acercaban se retiraron, porque eran pocos, y nos dejaron el campo." He then moved on to a small stream, one league further, where he established his camp. The next day the Spaniards proceeded further, and were soon assaulted by a number of Indians. "Muy armados y con muy gran grita. y comenzaron a pelear con nosotros. "tirándonos muchas varas y flechas." This attack was a feint, and drew the whites into an ambuscade ("hasta nos meter entre mas de cien mil hombres de pelea, que por todas "partes nos tenian cercados, y peleamos con ellos, y ellos con nosotros, todo el dia, "hasta una hora antes de puesto el sol, que se retrajéron."); *they continued advancing however all day*, and at night occupied the defensive position which Cortés thereafter held until the Tlaxcallans submitted. "Aquella noche me fice fuerte en una torrecilla "de idolos que estaba en un cerito." On the following day Cortés made a successful razzia upon five or six small settlements, and on the next morning the Tlaxcallans in turn attempted to attack the Spanish camp. This attack was speedily repulsed, the Spaniards fortifying their position so, "que en obra de cuatro horas habiamos fecho "lugar para que en nuestro real no nos ofendiesen, puesto que todavia hacian algunos "arremetidas." In other words, the Tlaxcallans rushed up against the encampment, were beaten back, and then hovered around during the remainder of the day, skirmishing, and attempting to draw their foes into ambushes which they held prepared. From this time on the Indians never assaulted, but Cortés made occasional sallies and forays, revictualling his men, and burning the houses and crops of the natives, until the tribe made proposals of peace.

Andrès de Tapia, another eye witness, an officer of high rank. ("Relacion, Col: "de Doc, II, pp. 567 and 568") fully confirms the statement of Cortés. The first day's engagement he describes as follows: "And about eight in the morning there sallied "forth against us so many men of war, that it strikes me as if there had been one hun- "dred thousand, while some are of opinion that there were many more. Some of them "expected us in certain deep ravines of streams crossing our path, and, traversing "them with much difficulty, we went in against them.....The Marquis always went in "the lead with the horsemen, fighting, and returning from time to time to concert his "men, keeping them close together....Some Indians would close up with the horsemen "so as to seize their lances, and thus while *fighting they proceeded that day* to a house "of idols near which were two or three huts. There the Spaniards established them- "selves during eighteen days, and went out fighting as the Marquis commanded. . ."

* * * * *

According to the above two eye-witnesses, the "great battle" of the 2d Sept: 1519. (Prescott Vol. I, p. 427) appears on the part of the Indians, to have consisted of a wild rush or dash (perhaps a feint) speedily repulsed, an ambush, soon forced, and for the remainder of the day constant skirmishing and harassing of the Spanish march, until the latter reached a strong position. The "decisive victory" of the 5th Sept: 1519 (Prescott, Vol. I, pp. 437–447) was a fierce onslaught upon the Spanish camp at daybreak ("Otro "dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil "hombres," Cortés, p. 16) which met with a prompt repulse, and the remainder of the day was also filled with more or less heavy skirmishing on both sides. These are the two prominent days of fighting during the entire two weeks of hostilities against Tlaxcallan, and they certainly were not pitched battles, as commonly admitted. An atten-

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blo of Zacamulco in the morning. Harrassed in flank and rear by the Mexicans who, not any longer checked by the volleys of musketry, dashed up to closer quarters, the Spaniards toiled on, fighting and marching, until, in the plains of Apan, they were completely surrounded on all sides. This was the *final ambush* prepared for them by the Mexicans. The engagement *there* must have been of the most desperate character, but it was of *short duration*, the Spaniards, with the courage of despair, cutting their way out. The Indians had so firmly relied upon annihilating their foes on that day that they desisted from future pursuit.[204]

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The engagements near Otumpan were the last conflicts occurring after the terrible night of the 1st of July, 1520, and previous to the resumption of the campaign by Cortés, from his headquarters at Tlaxcallan. The numerous actions which took place after-

tive and critical reading even of the third eye-witness, the too much esteemed Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera" in Vedia II, Caps. LXIII, LXIV, LXV, p. 55 to 58) confirms these views to the fullest possible extent, although the latter, bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position, less acquainted with general operations, enhances the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It must not be inferred from the above that the achievements of the Spaniards are therefore less memorable. If the fighting was on a scale different from that of European wars, it was none the less exhausting. Any charge of a few horsemen could scatter the enemy, but the next moment a new attack, from some unexpected quarter might be looked for. The danger consisted less in injury on the battlefield, than in the gradual wearing out of the men by the never ceasing watchfulness required. The successful result reflects the highest credit upon the military capacity of the Spaniards, as well as upon their great commander.

[204] Cortés ("Carta Segunda") pp. 45, 46. "And it appeared as if the Holy Ghost had "enlightened me by this advice, after what occurred the next day. For, having moved "on in the morning, at the distance of one and a half leagues large numbers of Indians "came to meet us, so that in the van, rear and flanks the field seemed covered with "them, and they assailed us with such violence, that we hardly knew each other, from "being mixed up with them. . . . In this condition *we remained much of the whole "day*, until it pleased God that one of their number was killed, who appeared to be of "such quality, that with his death the fight ceased. Then we proceeded, somewhat "relieved, but nevertheless exhausted, until to a small house in the plain, where we "staid for the night." . . . . .

The ambush had been prepared for several days (Bernal-Diez, Cap. CXXVIII, p. 136), for during their incessant pursuit on the preceding days the Mexicans had shouted to them: "Thither you shall go where none of you will escape alive" (p. 136). Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. XXVII, p. 434) says the Spaniards halted: "Los Españoles como les "vieron ir tras si con gran prisa entendieron que querian pelear y pararonse y pusiéronse "en órden de guerra; y los mexicanos como eran muchos tomaron en media à los Espa-"ñoles y commenzaron à combatirlos de todas partes." See also Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist: "des Chichimeques" Cap. LXXXIX). It was certainly a hand to hand conflict, the Indians, feeling sure to overpower their foes, striving to *capture* as many of them as possible *alive*. This, and the few horses remaining, saved the Spanish troop.

It is upon the statement of Bernal-Diez, that when the emblem or token carried by or near one of the principal chiefs fell, the fight ceased, that the conception has arisen, as if the fall of the chief banner decided the fate of an engagement. But there is no other evidence of the existence of a central banner or emblem.

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wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, however, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpowering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. *Then* the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[305] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[305] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diez. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acordamos que entrambas capitanias juntas fuésemos à quebrar el agua de chapultepeque "de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde alli de Tacuba aun no media legua. "E yendo à los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en "el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello habia de ser el primero en que "los podiamos dañar; y asi como nos encontraron cerca de unos pasos malos, comenzaron à nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron à tres soldados; "mas de presto les hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les "siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron siete ò ocho dellos; y como "aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, les quebramos los caños "por donde iba el agua à su ciudad, y desde entonces nunca se fué à Mejico entre tanto "que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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Cortés might have quietly *waited* for these two terrible allies to do their work almost alone, had it not been for two reasons: 174 726

The principal reason was, that his position was not secure among the fickle Indian tribes, which the thirst for revenge, the lust of spoil, and dazzling success on his part had temporarily attached to his fate. A protracted siege lay beyond the military conceptions, nay, beyond the military *ability* of the Indians. They could not remain outside of their homes for such a length of time.[206]

On the other hand, the Mexicans, equally unprepared for a lengthy defence, compelled him to aggressive action.

Resorting to their only mode of warfare where a sudden dash with overwhelming numbers was not any longer possible,[207] they made a number of feints, with the intention of drawing their enemies into an ambush. Moving against the Spaniards and their allies upon the causeways, they precipitately fled towards the first cut as soon as that onslaught was repulsed. When the pursuers arrived there, they would be charged in flank by heavy bodies of warriors, while in front it rained missiles of every kind upon them from behind the embankments erected on the inner side of the ditches.[208] The Spaniards, however, knew too well how disastrous

[206] Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLIII, p. 188, Vedia II) "Dejemos de hablar de los grandes "combates que nos daban; y digamos como nuestros amigos los de Tlascala y de cholu-"la y Guaxocingo, y aun los de Tezcuco, acordaron de se ir à sus tierras." They were disheartened, says the old captain (p. 189), but there is no wonder, since the place had not been carried, Indian-fashion, at a rush, and thus they grew tired of waiting.

It is the most decisive testimony in favor of our views, heretofore already expressed, that the Mexican Indians were not able to carry on a protracted campaign, still less a siege of any duration.

[207] During the siege, there is hardly any doubt but that the Indian allies of Cortés *outnumbered the Mexicans*. It would be, of course, unsafe to rely upon the numerical statements of the old authorities. They all vary. But if we only recollect that Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, Cholula, Chalco, Tezcuco, and some of the other main tribes joined the Spaniards, it necessarily convinces us that the numerical superiority was on the side of the besiegers. The great art of Cortés lay in consolidating the forces of these different tribes, which otherwise, in many cases, were enemies of long standing. With the Spaniards *as their leaders*, the fate of Mexico was sealed, provided they held out long enough. In all the engagements, the European soldiers formed but the nucleus around which their allies agglomerated. If *they* advanced, the others followed, occupying always so many of the Mexicans, and diverting them from falling too heavily upon the whites. In proportion, however, as the power of the Mexicans gave out, the deeds of the allies of Cortés grew more prominent, since there were more non-combatants to slaughter.

[208] The bridges had all been removed, and entrenchments constructed *behind* them. Besides, pits had been dug, with earthworks on both sides, for the express purpose of arresting the cavalry. Long lances, armed with sword blades captured from the Spaniards during the "Noche triste," were used by the Mexicans to attack the horsemen. Against the brigantines, rows of pointed piles had been rammed in below the surface of

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174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamients de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir- "nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu- "ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eràn tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y annque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendi, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como allí nos tuvieron, digo que car- "garon tanta multitud de gue.reros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi- "enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci- "ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
645 allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 194). The Council opposed the advice of Quauhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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iron hand, but by *free common consent*. It is an additional proof of the facts we have advanced: that the Mexicans were not subject to a despotical power, but organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free *military democracy*.